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THE “OWLS” FROM THE 1989 SYRIA HOARD,  
WITH A REVIEW OF  
PRE-MACEDONIAN COINAGE IN EGYPT

PLATES 1–12

PETER G. VAN ALFEN\*

Martin Price, the first to study and publish portions of the 1989 Syria hoard (= *CH* VIII.158; Elayi and Elayi 1993: no. 56), wisely considered that commentary on the owls should await a full study of Athens' later fourth-century *pi*-style coinage (Price 1993: 33). But the unlikelihood that that (monstrous) task will be completed anytime soon and the desire to make the unpublished material accessible have prompted this study, even if it is premature. Said to have been found a hundred kilometers or so east of Aleppo, 164 coins of the hoard passed through London in 1990 where Price had the opportunity to take notes, photograph and make casts of some of the coins before they were dispersed on the market. Unfortunately, however, Price did not record all of the weights, measurements, and die axes, so for many of the coins a photograph is the sole record that remains. Also, it is quite unclear what percentage of the original hoard Price examined; Nicolet-Pierre (2000: 115 n.17) has suggested that *CH* VIII.126 (“Near East 1988/89”), consisting of 16 Athenian-type coins, at least four of which are imitative, as well as a small number of Persian sigloi and

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two silver ingots, is likely a component of the 1989 Syria hoard. Her observation is perhaps correct since the find date, hoard composition, and preservation of the coins are consistent with this hoard; nevertheless, I have not included the owls from *CH* VIII.126 in this study because the connection cannot be validated.

Of the 164 coins that Price recorded, 142 were of the Athenian owl type; the remaining 22 coins (Price 1993: 33–34) were from Sinope (4), Cyzicus (1), Ephesus (1), Tarsus (7), Hierapolis-Bambyce (5), and Tyre (4). Based mostly on these non-Athenian coins, a closing date for the hoard of c. 330 BC appears most likely, but whether this was (immediately) pre-Alexandrian is a question best left open (see Discussion below). Since the owls form the largest and most important component of the hoard, and since they offer unparalleled evidence for the Artaxerxes and Sabakes series of Athenian imitations from Egypt, the owls are presented here as a separate study. Furthermore, because a number of questions remain concerning the manufacture of Athenian owl imitations in Egypt (virtually the only type of coin produced there before the arrival of the Macedonians), I review the evidence for the production of coins in Egypt during the Persian period (sixth to fourth centuries BC) in an extended digression. Following this review, which includes hitherto unpublished examples of Egyptian-made Athenian imitations from the American Numismatic Society's collection, I return to the 1989 Syria hoard material and provide a concluding summary in the Discussion.

### GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Like a number of other Near Eastern owl hoards of the fourth century, the 1989 hoard contained both non-Athenian imitations and what can only be called probable Attic issues.<sup>1</sup> While the probable

<sup>1</sup> While many of the *pi*-style coins found with this hoard were likely minted in Athens, there still is the real possibility, especially since the hoard comes from a region known to produce imitations, that some of the coins are in fact well-made imitations. As a case in point, Le Rider (1961: 13, pl. 1, no. 7) presents a *pi*-style owl that, were it not for the small Phoenician inscription (*ayin samek*) on the reverse, would easily be mistaken for an Athenian product. Thus "probable Attic issue" seems, for now, the best title for this group.

Attic issues are of only one well-known late fourth-century style (the *pi* style), the imitative owls can be divided into five different stylistic groups: *pi*-style, quasi *pi*-style, frontal eye, and the Artaxerxes and Sabakes types. As the categorization of eastern owl hoards and their types is still in its infancy, it is difficult to say if this number of types within one hoard is unusual for the period.<sup>2</sup>

As mentioned, Price recorded the weights for only a fraction of the owls: all of the Artaxerxes and Sabakes issues (18 coins), plus ten other miscellaneous coins (nos. 44-49; 102-105). A study of the Artaxerxes- and Sabakes-series weight standard is presented below in the Discussion. Of the remaining weighed coins, only one (no. 48), a probable Attic issue at 15.85 g, is considerably below par, but the coin may have been clipped. There is nothing outstanding about the weights of the other nine owls.

A fair proportion, about 14%, of the owls in the hoard bear countermarks;<sup>3</sup> a significantly larger proportion of them were marked with single or multiple cuts (see Table 1). Of those countermarks that are visible in the photographs or clear from Price's description of them, several are known from examples outside of the hoard (see Figure 1). In fact, a number of these countermarks, such as nos. 1 and 4, appear quite frequently on owls, both authentic and imitations, which have come out of Egypt and the Levant.<sup>4</sup> As Table 1 demonstrates, a greater proportion of the countermarks appear on the reverse of the coin. This favoritism also appears, and far more dramatically, in the number of cuts that appear on the reverse of the coins versus the

<sup>2</sup> See van Alfen (2000: 10–11 and n. 3) for fuller discussion. There I suggested that most Levantine and Egyptian hoards with owls generally do not contain more than three stylistic groups.

<sup>3</sup> While not generally considered to be countermarks, since they lack an engraved design, I have also included marks made with a round or square punch (e.g., Figure 1 nos. 4 and 15) under the heading of countermark. The shape of the mark left by the punch is more by design than accident, like that of a countermark. For this reason, despite Price's (1991: 67) suggestion that such punches were meant to check for subaerate cores, all the marks on the coins—countermarks, punches, and cuts—likely served the same purpose (see below).

<sup>4</sup> For further comments on countermarking practices in ancient Egypt and the Near East see van Alfen (2002).

TABLE 1. Chisel Cuts and Countermarks

## Probable Attic Issues (91 coins)

Proportion of total with cuts and/or countermarks:	68%
Proportion of total with countermark(s) only:	13%
On obverse only:	5%
On reverse only:	8%
Proportion of total with countermark on obv. <i>and</i> cut on rev.:	9%
Proportion of total with single cut only:	38%
On obverse only:	1%
On reverse only:	37%
Proportion of total with multiple cuts only:	4%
On obverse only:	0%
On reverse only:	4%
Proportion of total with single cut on obv. <i>and</i> rev.:	5%
Proportion of total with multiple cuts on obv. <i>and</i> rev.:	0%

## Imitations (41 coins)

Proportion of total with cuts and/or countermarks:	66%
Proportion of total with countermark(s) only:	14%
On obverse only:	4%
On reverse only:	10%
Proportion of total with countermark on obv. <i>and</i> cut on rev.:	0%
Proportion of total with single cut only:	20%
On obverse only:	2%
On reverse only:	18%
Proportion of total with multiple cuts only:	14%
On obverse only:	0%
On reverse only:	14%
Proportion of total with single cut on obv. <i>and</i> rev.:	7%
Proportion of total with multiple cuts on obv. <i>and</i> rev.:	10%



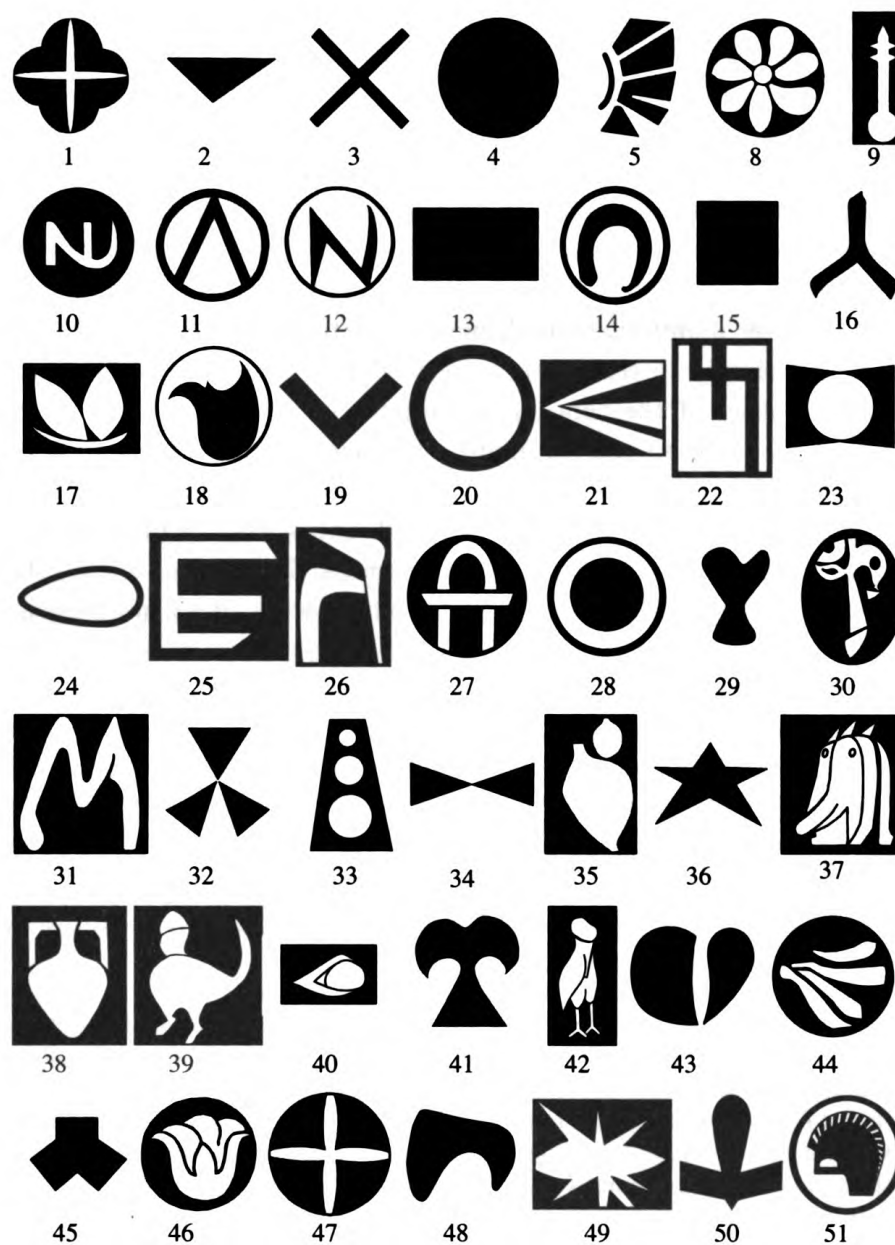


FIGURE 1. Countermarks.

obverse.<sup>5</sup> When one looks closely at Table 1, the emerging pattern suggests that cutting coins was not necessarily for the sake of testing for subaerate cores, as has long been thought, but rather served as a (crude) marking system itself.<sup>6</sup> The fact that patterning is also discernable in the placement of the cuts on the reverse is further indicative of marking rather than random testing. For example, 38 of the coins have a single cut splitting the owl's head between the eyes;<sup>7</sup> another 12 have a single cut across the owl's throat.<sup>8</sup> On those coins with multiple cuts on the reverse, many share multiple-cut patterns as well.<sup>9</sup> If the cuts were meant simply to test, then there would be no reason to favor one side or the other of the coin, or to subject the coin to more than one cut, or really to be so careful about placement of the cut vis-à-vis the owl. Not to be overlooked as well is the preference in antiquity for fresh coins, which presumably included coins that had not been defaced; testing a coin by cutting into it might have seriously affected its acceptance by other users.<sup>10</sup> Plated coins were likely no bigger a

<sup>5</sup> A similar pattern was observed in the marking of the owls from the 1973 Iraq hoard (van Alfen 2000: Table 2). Also see Naster (1948: 9) for similar tabulated results of the owls from the Tell el-Maskhuta hoard (*IGCH* 1649).

<sup>6</sup> Wartenberg and Kagan (1999: 406–407) have argued for a similar use of cuts as a marking system rather than a test for metal purity.

<sup>7</sup> These are nos. 3, 7, 10, 14, 23, 25, 28, 30, 35, 38–40, 43–47, 49, 52, 56, 58–59, 61, 64, 70, 72, 78, 82, 84–85, 89, 92, 95, 96, 102, 104, 11, 126. No. 102 is particularly illustrative of this mark's deliberative placement: despite the reversal of the owl, the mark still runs between the owl's eyes.

<sup>8</sup> These are nos. 1, 8, 19–20, 27, 29, 68, 74–75, 79, 108, 110.

<sup>9</sup> Compare, for example, nos. 80, 116, 128; and nos. 97 and 106. Similar patterns for these cuts as well as the single-cut examples in notes 7 and 8 are readily found on coins from other hoards. See, for example, similar cuts on the owls from the 1973 Iraq hoard (van Alfen 2000) and from *IGCH* 1259 (Newell 1914).

<sup>10</sup> Much like today, when it is often difficult to pass an overly worn bill or coin on to others, coin-users in antiquity seem to have had a general preference for fresh coins. In most cases, this preference was likely directly related to the concept that fresh (precious metal) coins were of higher weight and therefore of greater intrinsic value. This notion of freshness, whatever its psychological or economic basis might have been, seems to have pertained to marks on coins as well. In a late fourth or early third century BC inscription from Arcesine on Amorgos (*IG* XII (7) 69, 21–23), among the other specifications listed, the coins used in the repayment of loans are to be *anepaphon* (“untouched, unharmed”), conceivably without any marks or counter-

problem in the Near East and Egypt than they were in the Aegean; yet virtually no coins from Aegean hoards are cut like those from the East. Obviously, methods for testing for subaerate cores were known which did not involve the destruction or defacing of the coin.<sup>11</sup> Again, the preponderance not only of cuts, but also of countermarks, on coins from Near Eastern hoards indicates a context in which an amount of direct control was exercised over the circulation of coinage. Within this limited context we should expect the cuts to serve a function similar to that of the countermarks, and not as a test of metal content.<sup>12</sup>

### THE CATALOGUE

Because a great deal of information concerning the individual coins is missing, such as weights, die axes, and disposition, the catalogue is not as complete as one might wish. Where I have been able to glean information from Price's publications or notes I have included it; all other information (e.g., notes on countermarks and cuts) is derived from study of the photographs. In order to illustrate as many of the coins as possible, I have culled the illustrations from three different sources—Price's 1993 publication, his Polaroid photographs and casts, and British Museum prints—thus, photo quality varies and some illustrations are lacking (e.g., the reverse of no. 48). Because of their exceptionally worn state, no illustrations for nos. 134–142 are provided. Also, where it has been possible to do so, I provide a concordance with Price

marks (cf. Picard 1996: 248). Worn and marked coins certainly did circulate, but not always with ease: a second-century AD Roman law attempted to limit the practice of *aspratoura*, the acceptance by bankers and merchants of only fresh/unworn coin (Metcalf 1980: 119; Howgego 1990: 17). Furthermore, it is clear from Nikophon's law of 375/74 that in Athens at least, the *dokimastês*, a public official who checked coins for imitations and counterfeits in the marketplace, did not cut a coin unless he was condemning it as counterfeit and taking it out of circulation (Stroud 1974: l. 10).

<sup>11</sup> (Arrian) *Discourses of Epictetus* 1.20.7–9, for example, mentions that a silver-tester (*argyrognomón*) used sight, touch, smell, and hearing to test coins, but makes no mention of slicing into them. For additional citations and commentary see Bogaert (1976: 14–18).

<sup>12</sup> For additional comments on the phenomenon of countermarks in the Near East, see Elayi and Elayi (1993) and van Alfen (2000: 11).



(1993) within the catalogue, e.g., "(= Price 42)". The owls are not listed in chronological order since the dates for all but the signed Artaxerxes and Sabakes coins are unknown. The general rule that owls with Athena displaying a frontal-type eye precede those with a profile eye might not be valid regarding imitations; it is entirely possible that for a decade, maybe two, imitations with both frontal and profile eyes were produced contemporaneously. Rather than a chronological listing, the catalogue follows the basic division of Probable Attic Issues and Imitations; under the heading of Imitations, the coins are grouped by stylistic similarities. Illustrations of the countermarks (e.g., "ctmk no. 3") can be found in Figure 1.<sup>13</sup>

#### PROBABLE ATTIC ISSUES (NOS. 1–91)

All of the Probable Attic Issues are fourth-century *pi*-style coins, a series that began c. 350 BC (Kroll 1993: 8), and is so called because of the newly introduced  $\pi$ -shape of the helmet ornament on the obverse of the coins. J. Bingen's study (1973) of the *pi*-style owls from the 1969 Thorikos hoard (*IGCH* 134) remains the definitive study of the series but is far from problematic. Basing his system primarily on subtle differences in the presentation of the helmet ornament, Bingen divided the series into five sequential issues, *pi*-types I to V. But the differences in the ornaments are not always clear, especially between Bingen's types II and III, and nothing proves one type followed another. Different engravers working simultaneously in the mint might have been responsible for the subtleties in detail and discrete types. Despite the problems with Bingen's classification, it is nevertheless acceptable as a descriptive tool and so is used as such here, but without strict application. Where there has been hesitation about assigning coins to one Bingen type or another, I have formed combined headings, e.g., *pi*-type I/II, to accommodate uncertainties. Those coins

<sup>13</sup> Figure 1 does not include illustrations for countermarks nos. 6 and 7. While it is certain that countermarks are present on the coins in question (Probable Attic Issues, nos. 44–45 below), it is impossible from the photographs to make out the nature of the countermarks.

that have the crucial elements off-flan or are excessively worn are listed under Uncertain *Pi*-types. Under all these headings, I have placed together coins that share similar characteristics of eye detail (e.g., the shape of the eyelids and brows), facial expressions, and the like. Quite frequently one is able to discern among various collections of *pi*-style coins faces of Athena that appear familiar. Compare, for example, no. 3 and Svoronos (1975: pl. 19 no. 14); no. 4 and Svoronos (1975: pl. 20 no. 22); no. 5 and no. 4 from the 1973 Iraq hoard (van Alfen 2000: no. 4). While at first and even second glance these coins appear to be die-linked, closer examination reveals that they are not. There is little doubt, however, that many of these similar dies were engraved by the same hand, and the frequency with which one finds these familiar faces could indicate that the *pi*-style series was produced within a short period of time.

One further trait peculiar to the *pi*-style owls is the oddly shaped oval flan on which a number of examples were struck (e.g., nos. 50–57, 72).<sup>14</sup> The trait is little discussed. However, the possibility that many, if not all, of these flans were formed by folding over other coins is confirmed by a *pi*-style owl in the collection of Robert W. Hoge (see Plate 10 no. 3) that clearly shows how two ends had been folded over one another;<sup>15</sup> unfortunately no undertype is visible. The reuse of coins in this manner certainly has implications concerning the Athenian mint's silver procurement in the fourth century, as well as the mint's methods of manufacturing coins.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Four examples are known from the 1973 Iraq hoard (van Alfen 2000: nos. 10, 17, 31, 35); seven are illustrated in Svoronos (1975: pls. 20.19, 26.24, 27.16–17, 28.3–4, 28.12).

<sup>15</sup> I thank Hoge for pointing out this feature to me. A similar manufacturing technique was used for some Athenian imitations from Arabia (Huth 1998).

<sup>16</sup> A comparison between the Athenian mint's fifth- and fourth-century products readily reveals that production techniques changed. The fourth-century flans are generally dumpier, rougher on the edge, and of smaller diameter than those of the fifth. As for the mint's silver procurement, the reuse of coins, if they were not in fact old Athenian issues, could have implications concerning the use (or non-use) of the Laurion mines in the fourth century. Xenophon (*Poroi* 4.28), for example, writing in the mid-350s, complained that the mines were being underutilized.

*Pi-type I/II*

1. Rev.: cut.
2. Rev.: ctmk 1 (x 2).
3. Rev.: cut.

*Pi-type III/IV*

- 4–6. No marks.
7. Rev.: cut.
8. Obv.: cut; rev: cut.
9. (No marks).
10. Rev.: cut.
11. Obv.: ctmk 2; rev: cut.
- 12–13. (No marks).
14. Rev.: cut.
15. Obv.: ctmk 3.
16. (No marks).
17. Obv.: ctmk 4.
18. (No marks).
19. Obv.: cut; rev: cut.
20. Rev.: cut.
21. Rev.: cut.
22. Rev.: cut.
23. Rev.: cut.
24. (No marks).
25. Rev.: cut.
26. (No marks).
27. Obv.: cut; rev: cut.
28. Rev.: cut.
29. Rev.: cut.
30. Rev.: cut.
31. Obv.: cut; rev: cut.
- 32–34. (No marks).
35. Rev.: cut.
36. Rev.: cut.
37. (No marks).
38. Obv.: cut; rev: cut.
39. Rev.: cut.

- 40. Rev.: cut.
- 41. (No marks).
- 42. Obv.: cut (x 2).
- 43. Rev.: cut.
- 44. (= Price 141); 16.99 g; obv: ctmk 5; rev: ctmk 6, cut.
- 45. (= Price 142); 17.04 g; obv: ctmk 5; ctmk 7; rev: cut.
- 46. (= Price 143); 16.86 g; obv: ctmks 8 and 9 (?); rev: cut.
- 47. (= Price 144); 16.66 g; obv: ctmk 10; rev: cut.
- 48. (= Price 145); 15.85 g; obv: ctmk 11.
- 49. (= Price 146); 16.73 g; rev: ctmk 12; cut.

*Pi*-type III/IV (oval flans)

- 50. Rev.: ctmk 4.
- 51. Rev.: ctmks 13 and 14 (x 2).
- 52. Rev.: cut.
- 53. Rev.: ctmk 4.
- 54–55. (No marks).
- 56. Rev.: cut.
- 57. (No marks).

*Pi*-type V

- 58. Rev.: cut.
- 59. Rev.: cut.
- 60. (No marks).
- 61. Rev.: 2 cuts.
- 62–63. (No marks).
- 64. Rev.: cut.
- 65. (No marks).
- 66. Rev.: 2 cuts.
- 67. (No marks).

Uncertain *Pi*-types

- 68. Rev.: cut.
- 69. (No marks).
- 70. Rev.: cut.
- 71. (No marks).
- 72. Rev.: ctmk 15, cut.

- 73. (No marks).
- 74. Rev.: cut.
- 75. Rev.: cut.
- 76. Rev.: 3 cuts.
- 77. (No marks).
- 78. Rev.: cut.
- 79. Obv.: ctmk 4; rev: cut.
- 80. Obv.: ctmk 16 (?); rev: 3 cuts.
- 81. (No marks).
- 82. Rev.: cut.
- 83. (No marks).
- 84. Obv.: ctmk 13; rev: cut.
- 85. Rev.: cut.
- 86. (No marks).
- 87. Rev.: cut.
- 88. Obv.: ctmk?
- 89. Rev.: 2 cuts.
- 90. Rev.: cut.
- 91. (No marks).

#### IMITATIONS (NOS. 92–132)

The non-Athenian quality of the following owls leaves little doubt that they were made outside of Athens, in the Levant or Egypt. But with the obvious exception of the Artaxerxes and Sabakes coins (nos. 115–132, discussed below), parallels for the remaining coins (nos. 92–114) are few. Because nos. 99–101 are die-linked, it is quite likely that the coins were minted in the vicinity of where they were found. These three coins, along with nos. 98 and 102, are stylistically quite similar to groups X and XII from the 1973 Iraq hoard (van Alfen 2000). Rather than continue to suggest, as I did earlier, that groups X and XII are Babylonian, it is more reasonable to think of them, along with nos. 98–102 here, as (eastern) Syrian products.<sup>17</sup> Also, I

<sup>17</sup> Babylonia does not appear to have minted any coins, officially or unofficially, before the arrival of the Macedonians (van Alfen 2000: 29–41). Thus it would make

have labeled nos. 98–102 “quasi *pi*-types” since it is clear that the engravers were most influenced by the Athenian *pi* style, but they did not copy the attributes faithfully and so the design schema appears confused. Among the frontal-eye pieces, Price read Phoenician *ayin* on the cheek of no. 114 and so attributed it to Gaza.<sup>18</sup> Another frontal-eye piece, no. 111, is likely an example of Buttrey’s Egyptian style M (see below), although the state of its preservation might cause hesitation in the attribution. Finally, another candidate for an Egyptian product is no. 110, which is die-linked to a coin (Robinson 1947: pl. 5 no. 13) from the Tell el-Maskhoutha hoard (*IGCH* 1649), which in turn appears related to a variety (type I; see below) of the Artaxerxes coins (e.g., no. 115). As far as can be determined then, about half (20 out of 41) of the imitative owls (nos. 110, 111, 115–132) are Egyptian-made. The number might be higher: we cannot be absolutely certain where the remaining imitative owls from the hoard were manufactured and Egypt, of course, must be considered a possibility.

#### *Pi*-type

- 92. Rev.: cut.
- 93. Rev.: 2 cuts.
- 94. Obv.: cut.
- 95. Rev.: cut.
- 96. Obv.: cut; rev: cut.
- 97. Rev.: 3 cuts.

#### Quasi *pi*-type

- 98. (No marks).
- 99. (= Price 37)(no marks).
- 100. (= Price 38)(no marks).

more sense, since the 1989 Syria hoard appears to date roughly 10 years earlier than the 1973 Iraq hoard, for the flow of coins of groups X and XII to be eastward rather than westward.

<sup>18</sup> Price (1993: no. 42) wrongly labeled this coin “profile eye”. *Ayin* alone, or with *zion*, appearing on Athenian imitations (e.g., *ANS SNG*, vol. 6, no. 32) or Philistino-Arabian types, has long been understood to be an abbreviation for the city name Gaza. A *pi*-style imitation from Gaza is known from the 1973 Iraq hoard (van Alfen 2000: no. 120).

101. (= Price 39) (no marks).  
 102. (= Price 40); 17.05 g; rev: owl to l.; ctmk 4 (?), cut.

#### Frontal-eye type

103. (= Price 23); 16.88 g; 8:00 (no marks).  
 104. 16.37 g; 9:00 (no marks).  
 105. 16.12 g; 9:00 (no marks).  
 106. Obv.: cut; rev: 3 cuts.  
 107. (= Price 24?); rev: cut.  
 108. Obv.: ctmk 4; rev: ctmk 4, 2 cuts.  
 109. Obv.: cut; rev: cut.  
 110. Rev.: cut.  
 111. Obv.: ctmk 15; rev: cut.  
 112. Obv.: cut; rev: 4 cuts.  
 113. Obv.: ctmk?; rev: 2 cuts.  
 114. (= Price 42); *ayin* on cheek; obv: 2 cuts; rev: 2 cuts.

#### Artaxerxes type

115. (= Price 147); 17.21 g; 7:00 (no marks).  
 116. (= Price 148); 15.70 g; 9:00; rev: 2 cuts.  
 117. (= Price 149); 16.26 g; 7:00; obv: cut; rev: 4 cuts.  
 118. (= Price 150); 17.26 g; 11:00 (no marks).  
 119. (= Price 151); 16.69 g; 12:00 (no marks).  
 120. (= Price 152); 17.18 g; 9:00; obv: cut.  
 121. (= Price 153); 16.26 g; 9:00 (no marks).  
 122. (= Price 154); 17.00 g; 7:00; rev: 2 cuts.  
 123. (= Price 155); 16.35g; rev: 3 cuts.  
 124. (= Price 156); 16.90 g; 7:00; rev: 2 cuts.

#### Sabakes type

125. (= Price 157); 16.95 g; 9:00; rev: ctmk 1.  
 126. (= Price 158); 16.70 g; 9:00; rev: ctmk 1; cut.  
 127. (= Price 159); 17.08 g; 9:00 (no marks).  
 128. (= Price 160); 16.48 g; 9:00; rev: 2 cuts.  
 129. (= Price 161); 16.70 g; 8:00 (no marks).  
 130. (= Price 162); 16.79 g; 9:00; obv: ctmk 1; rev: ctmk 1.  
 131. (= Price 163); 16.88 g; 9:00; obv: ctmk 1 (x 3); rev: ctmk 1 (x 2).  
 132. (= Price 164); 16.66 g; 9:00; obv: ctmk 1; rev: ctmk 4.

Excessively Worn

133–142. Not illustrated.

## REVIEW OF PRE-MACEDONIAN COINAGE IN EGYPT

Before continuing further with the discussion of the owls from the 1989 Syria hoard, a digression on pre-Macedonian coinage in Egypt is needed, considering the large proportion of Egyptian-made coins found in the hoard. Other considerations also warrant the digression: although H. Nicolet-Pierre's 1979 study of the Sabakes and Mazakes series of Egyptian-made Athenian imitations set right many of the earlier disputes concerning these coins, the obvious close relation of these coins to the Artaxerxes series, the number of which dramatically increased with the 1989 Syria find, requires fuller treatment. Furthermore, no recent attempt has been made to bring all the various series of pre-Macedonian Egyptian-made coins into focus within one paper.<sup>19</sup> By doing so, it is hoped that a clearer picture of Egyptian monetary systems and the imitation phenomenon in Egypt may emerge, as well as a better idea of how Egyptian coins circulated within the region, as evidenced by the 1989 Syria and other hoards.

With only a handful of exceptions,<sup>20</sup> coin production in Egypt before the arrival of Alexander III was limited to the minting of Athenian imitations; coin finds as well as five Athenian-type dies from Egypt prove this to be the case.<sup>21</sup> This is quite a remarkable phenomenon

<sup>19</sup> Previous scholars who have attempted a global conspectus of pre-Macedonian coinage in Egypt include Bogaert (1980), Curtis (1957), Dumas (1974, 1977), Harrison (1982), and Mavrogordato (1908). Also see Le Rider (1997) for issues pertaining to pre-Macedonian monetization in Egypt.

<sup>20</sup> These are 1) the mid-fourth-century AV staters and AE fractions of Nektanebo II (? , c. 80 known), 2) the AR and AE fractions of Sabakes (9 known), and 3) the AE fraction of Mazakes; see below for further discussion of these series. No example of the extremely pure silver coinage of the early fifth-century Egyptian ruler Aryandes mentioned by Herodotos (4.166) has yet been located, which may indicate the coinage was a fiction. Tuplin (1989), who reviews the philological evidence, accepts the veracity of the story despite the lack of material evidence.

<sup>21</sup> For the dies see Vermeule (1954: nos. 1–5) and Jonkess (1950).



given the widespread use of Aegean and Levantine coinage up and down the Nile during the Persian period, and in light of the coinages of local design produced in the neighboring Levant, which the Levantine production of Athenian imitations supplemented. In fact, except for the mid-fourth-century coinage of Nektanebo II (?), Egypt produced no coinage during the Persian period with what might be considered purely native designs.<sup>22</sup>

In what follows, I provide a brief introduction to the different series of pre-Macedonian Egyptian coins (or those thought to be Egyptian), and provide a list of (most) published examples, as well as unpublished pieces in the ANS cabinets (those illustrated are marked “\*”). This list is not meant to be a corpus; for some series, like the Nektanebo II (?) staters and Buttrey’s types, the list is far from complete for the reasons noted below. The list is arranged in what must be considered only a rough chronological sequence. We can be reasonably certain of the sequence of the named Artaxerxes, Sabakes, and Mazakes series, and the approximate date for the named gold coin of Takhos. Otherwise the dates and attributions are conjectural.

### I. Buttrey's Types

In two brief articles published in the early 1980s, T. V. Buttrey (1982, 1984) suggested that there were at least three series of previously overlooked, anonymous frontal-eye imitations from Egypt,<sup>23</sup> which he arbitrarily labeled Styles X, B, and M. Buttrey’s criteria for classification were not entirely clear; Flament (2001) has recently rectified this problem and has added yet another type to Buttrey’s list, Style A, a sub-category of Style M. Buttrey’s identification of these

<sup>22</sup> Earlier scholars (e.g., Jenkins 1955: 148) argued that all of the so-called “Egypto-Arabian” series (cf. *BMC Palestine* pl. 20 nos. 1–7) was Egyptian-made. More recently, however, many, but not all of the types have been shown to fit squarely within the Philisto-Arabian tradition, and so should be considered products of the southern Levantine coast, not Egypt (Mildenberg 1994, 1995, 1997, 2000).

<sup>23</sup> Buttrey’s claims (1982:138) of extensive die linking among Styles X and B within the Karanis hoard and with other owls found in Egypt strengthens his supposition that coins were produced in Egypt.

new series of imitations was based on his work on a hoard of 347 owls purchased in the Fayum during the University of Michigan's excavations at Karanis in the 1930s; despite Buttrey's good intentions 20 years ago, this important hoard remains unpublished (and unlisted in either *IGCH* or *CH*). Obtaining an accurate tally, or even attempting a die study of Styles X, B, and M is, at this stage, impossible without publication of the Karanis hoard. I have listed below the number mentioned for each style by Buttrey and Flament, as well as other examples from the ANS collection (illustrated) and from published sources not previously noted.

*Style B*

- \*1. ANS 1923.999.97; 16.72 g; 11:00; obv: ctmks 4, 15, and 17; rev: ctmks 3, 18, and 19.
- \*2. ANS 1944.100.24214; 17.06 g; 9:00; rev: ctmk 16, cut (from *IGCH* 1259).
- \*3. ANS 1944.100.24219; 16.41 g; 9:00; obv: ctmk 20; rev: ctmk 20, cut (from Phoenicia).
- \*4. ANS 1944.100.24223; 16.98 g; 9:00; obv: ctmk 21; rev: ctmk 22, 2 cuts (from *IGCH* 1259)(= *SNG ANS* 6, no. 4).
- \*5. ANS 1944.100.24234; 17.08 g; 9:00; obv: cut; rev: 2 cuts (from *IGCH* 1259).
- \*6. ANS 1944.100.24235; 17.10 g; 9:00; obv: ctmk no. 4; rev: 2 cuts (from *IGCH* 1259).
- \*7. ANS 1953.171.226; 17.03; 9:00; obv: ctmk 25 (x 2); rev: cut.
- \*8. ANS 1965.187.1; 17.03; 9:00; obv: ctmks 23 and 24; rev: ctmk 22, cut.
- 9. *SNG Delepierre* 1453; 14.04 g (corroded); 9:00.
- 10. *SNG Delepierre* 1454; 17.06 g; 7:00; rev: ctmk 26 (from *CH* VIII.125).
- 11–156. From Karanis hoard (Buttrey 1982: 138).
- 157–228 (?). From Tell el-Maskhoutha hoard (*IGCH* 1649; Buttrey 1982: 139; Flament 2001: 46).
- 229. From Al Mina (*IGCH* 1487; Flament 2001: 45).
- 230–232. From Piraeus, 1977 (Flament 2001: 46).
- 233. From Mit Rahinah (Flament 2001: 46).
- 234. From Cilicia (*CH* V.15; Flament 2001: 46).

*Style M*

- \*1. ANS 1923.999.98; 16.92 g; 9:00; obv: cut.
- \*2. ANS 1929.115.4; 16.95 g; 8:00.
- \*3. ANS 1944.100.24206; 17.09 g; 9:00.
- \*4. ANS 1944.100.24208; 16.82 g; 9:00; obv: ctms 27 and 28 (from Syria).
- \*5. ANS 1944.100.24215; 17.09 g; 9:00 (from *IGCH* 1259).
- \*6. ANS 1953.171.228; 16.70 g; 9:00; obv: ctms 49.
- \*7. ANS 1957.172.1116; 17.07 g; 9:00; obv: die flaw.
- \*8. ANS 1957.172.1123; 16.97 g; 9:00.
- \*9. ANS 1957.172.1124; 17.02 g; 9:00.
- 10–11. From Al Mina (*IGCH* 1487; Flament 2001: 40).
- 12–16. From Karaman hoard (*IGCH* 1243; Flament 2001: 40–41).
- 17–25. From Tell el-Maskhuta (*IGCH* 1649; Flament 2001: 40–41).
- 26–30. From Mit Rahinah (Flament 2001: 41).
- 31–34. Svoronos (1975: pl. 17.9, 11, 20, pl. 19.11; Flament 2001: 41).
- 35–38. From Lebanon hoard (*CH* VIII.133; Flament 2001: 41).
- 39–40. From Piraeus, 1977 (Flament 2001: 41).
- 41. From Tel el-Athrib (*IGCH* 1663; Flament 2001: 41).
- 42. From Cilicia (*CH* V.15; Flament 2001: 41).
- 43. From Sicily (Buttrey 1982: 140 n. 6).

*Style A*

- \*1. ANS 1944.100.24226; 17.13 g; 9:00 (from Egypt, Nahman's hoard).
- \*2. ANS 1944.100.24227; 16.87 g; 9:00; obv: graffito "X" (from Egypt, Nahman's hoard).
- 3. From Karaman hoard (*IGCH* 1243; Flament 2001: 43).
- 4–5. Svoronos (1975), pl. 19.3, 5 (Flament 2001: 43).<sup>24</sup>
- 6–7. From Tell el-Maskhuta (*IGCH* 1649; Flament 2001: 44).

<sup>24</sup> John Kroll (personal communication) noted that the obverse of Svoronos pl. 19.5 is very similar to pl. 19.13–14, 32, which likely belong to an Athenian pre-*pi* series of the earlier fourth century. Nicolet-Pierre recently suggested that this series also is imitative and from Egypt, a theory which Kroll rejects (see Kroll 2001, 10, n.13). The reverse of Svoronos pl. 19.5, however, is closer in style to that of Flament's type A, than the pre-*pi* types. Clearly this coin is another example of those Athenian types that walk the very fine line between imitative and authentic; no judgment can or should be passed on the coin.

*Style X*

- \*1. ANS 1941.131.550; 16.93 g; 9:00; obv: ctmks 1 (x 2) and 29; rev: ctmks 1 (x 3) and 8.
- \*2. ANS 1944.100.24232; 17.09 g; 9:00.
- \*3. ANS 1944.100.24233; 16.83 g; 9:00.
- \*4. ANS 1944.100.24236; 16.99 g; 9:00.
- \*5. ANS 1944.100.24237; 16.23 g; 9:00; possibly plated (found in Palestine).
- \*6. ANS 1944.100.24238; 16.12 g; 9:00; obv: ctmk (?); rev: ctmk 4 (found in Syria).
- \*7. ANS 1955.54.192; 17.08 g; 9:00.
- 8. *SNG Delepierre* 1457; 17.01 g; 9:00 (found in Egypt).
- 9. *SNG Delepierre* 1458; 17.06 g; 9:00 (found in Egypt).
- 10. *SNG Delepierre* 1459; 16.89 g; 9:00 (found in Egypt).
- 11–23. From Karanis hoard (Buttrey 1982: 138).
- 24–27. Svoronos (1975), pl. 19.6–7, 8, 12 (Flament 2001: 45).
- 28–31. From Karaman hoard (*IGCH* 1243; Flament 2001: 45).
- 32–36. From Tell el-Maskhoutha hoard (*IGCH* 1649; Flament 2001:45).
- 37. Plated example? (Seltman 1955: pl. XXVII, 10).

The following coins in the ANS collection seem closely related to the Buttrey/Flament types, but cannot be readily assigned to any particular group. Also note that three (perhaps four) of them are plated. To this list might also be added Svoronos (1975: pl. 19.1). Owl no. 4 below was first published by Noe (1954: 87, pl. 14 no. 7), who thought that the countermark on the obverse (Figure 1 no. 51) pictured a “crested (?) head with beady eyes facing front”. His suggestion that it might also be a helmet is here adopted.

*Miscellaneous*

- \*1. ANS 0000.999.9884; 16.57 g; 9:00; obv: ctmk 30; rev: ctmk 28.
- \*2. ANS 1951.142.1; 17.02 g; 9:00; rev: ctmk 26.
- \*3. ANS 1952.83.2; 17.08 g; 9:00; obv: ctmk 28; rev: ctmks 4 and 26.
- \*4. ANS 1952.83.3; 17.06 g; 7:00; obv: ctmk 51; rev: cut; ctmk 4.
- \*5. ANS 1953.171.224; 16.32 g; 9:00; obv: cut; rev: ctmk 23; 2 cuts.
- \*6. ANS 1953.171.229; 14.29 g; 8:00; obv: ctmk 31; rev: cut.
- \*7. ANS 1953.171.231; 17.03 g; 9:00; obv: ctmk no. 10.

- \*8. ANS 1953.171.233; 12.92 g; 9:00; plated.
- \*9. ANS 1953.171.1837; 12.62 g; 11:00; plated.
- \*10. ANS 1957.172.1127; 14.63 g; 3:00; plated; pierced.
- \*11. ANS 1974.26.239; 16.57 g; 9:00; obv: graffito "X"; rev: ctmk 19.
- \*12. ANS 1986.33.1; 17.18 g; 9:00; plated?

## II. Marked and unmarked Fractions

### *a. uah-series*

At some point before 1890 a small hoard of silver fractions, of Athenian type but with the hieroglyphic symbol *uah* on the reverse, was found in Sicily (*IGCH* 2165). The disposition of the hoard is far from clear: J. Mavrogordato purchased one of the coins in 1907 (1908: 197; Newell 1938: 59, n.120), a coin that later went to the British Museum (Jenkins 1955: no.21). E. T. Newell (1938: no.33) discussed a fraction likely from the hoard in his personal collection and mentioned, in his unpublished notes, owning several other obols and hemiobols like it. A few other coins, possibly from the Sicilian hoard, found their way into notable European collections. All are profile-eye imitations with the hieroglyph *uah* ("lasting") on the reverse between the Athenian ethnic and the owl; Newell (1938: 60) thought the series should date from the end of the Persian period in Egypt, but this was little more than speculation. The hieroglyph imparts the notion of validity, but whether it refers to the authority, the metal, or the weight of the coin is not known (Dumas 1974: 572). The weight standard of these coins is something of a mystery; with weights of around 0.4 to 0.5 grams the average falls at roughly the midpoint between the weight of the Athenian obol and hemiobol, and likewise it is too light for Levantine fractional standards.

1. ANS 1944.100.62652 (=Newell 1938: no. 33; *SNG ANS* 6, no. 28); 0.53; 12:00; rev: *uah*.
2. *SNG Cop*, no. 5: 0.50 g; rev: *uah* (= Svoronos 1975: pl. CIX.43).
3. Mavrogordato 1908: no. 1; 0.48 g; rev: *uah* (= Jenkins 1955: no. 21).
4. Svoronos 1975: pl. 109.42; 0.42 g; rev: *uah*.
5. Svoronos 1975: pl. 109.44; rev: *uah*.

*b. "Egypto-Arabian"*

Jenkins (1955: 148) felt that a number of small coins imitating not only Athens but also Kimon's Arethusa types, some of which had been found in a hoard in northwest Arabia (*IGCH* 1755), were "unquestionably" Egyptian. Time, however, has given us reason to question the attribution; most share characteristics with Philisto-Arabian types that likely originated in the region around Gaza, or perhaps even the Sinai, rather than the Nile corridor. Possible exceptions, however, are two Athenian imitation obols. The obverse of these coins shows a rough, nondescript Athena, the reverse the expected owl and olive spray. But the legend has been modified: the central letter *theta* has been replaced by a rotund Greek amphora. This amphora symbol has a parallel in a countermark (Figure 1 no. 38) found on a bona fide *pi*-style Athenian coin (ANS 1944.100.24328) that came from a hoard of heavily countermarked owls found in Egypt, and one from the Tell el-Maskhoutha hoard (van Alfen 2002: Endicott's hoard no. 5; Robinson 1947: 115). Among the specifically Egyptian countermarks on these owls is the hieroglyph *nefer* (Figure 1 no. 9), which also has parallels on Egyptian-made coins (see Nektanebo II below). While the link between the amphora symbol and countermark is not conclusive, it does at least make the case for an Egyptian attribution for the imitation obols stronger.

1. *BMC Palestine*, p. 183, no. 5; pl. XX, no. 5; 0.66 g; 6:00.
2. *BMC Palestine*, p. 183, no. 6; pl. XX, no. 5, 0.60 g; 6:00.

*c. Naukratis*

Purchased in Egypt in the 1920s, this unique imitation was minted in Naukratis, as the legend NAU, replacing the Athenian ethnic, almost certainly implies. Newell, who first published the coin (1938: no. 35), also suggested that this fraction preceded a bronze, but not imitative, fractional series from Naukratis also with the legend NAU. Le Rider (1997: 93) argues that this bronze series dates from the time of Kleomenes, the fiscal administrator of Egypt put in place by Alexander in 332/1. However, Bresson (2000: 75) is correct to note that with the prevalence of other imitative Athenian coins in Egypt from the early fourth century on, the date of the coin cannot be considered secure.

1. ANS 1944.100.75458: 0.64 g; rev legend: NAU (= Newell 1938, no. 35).

*d. MNPT-series*

Two examples of this series are known from the Abu Shusheh hoard (*IGCH* 1507); one is from the Samaria hoard (*CH* IX.413). Newell (1938: 54) felt that the Aramaic inscription, *MNPT*, appearing on the reverse between the owl and Athenian ethnic, had a "distinctly Iranian sound" and so rendered it as an Iranian personal name, e.g., Manapates. Decades later, Lipinski (1982: 28-30) argued that the inscription meant "Memphite", i.e., indicating Memphis as the mint. More recent commentators have followed Newell, rather than Lipinski, although what the Aramaic is meant to say remains a matter of controversy (Moysey 1989:118-119). The Palestinian find spots of the coins and the prevalence of stylistically similar coins from the Samaria hoard, though bearing different Aramaic inscriptions, make it seem most likely that these coins are Levantine, not Egyptian.

1. ANS 1944.100.62649 (= Newell 1938: no. 25); 0.75 g; 9:00.
2. Lambert 1933: no. 4; 0.79 g; 9:00.
3. Meshorer and Qedar (1999) no. 48; 0.79 g.

*e. Miscellaneous*

Another coin from Newell's collection, again imitating a late fifth-century obol, is unfortunately not well enough preserved for the inscription to be read; Newell thought it might have been Aramaic rather than Greek (1938: no. 26). On what appears stylistically to be a later coin (post-Alexander, according to Newell 1938: 60), the lotus appears again but in conjunction with additional characters, one of which Newell read as Greek *E*. The lotus suggests Egyptian origin, although similar lotuses appear in Svoronos (1975: pl. 110 nos. 45-47) on fractions with a Greek Athenian ethnic. Finally, although they are not technically fractions, three imitative drachms are placed in this group because of their smaller size and comparative rarity in the sea of tetradrachm imitations. Flament (2001: 41) notes that two drachms of Buttrey's Style M were found at Mit Rahinah. A third imitative drachm, from the ANS collection, came out of the Tell el-Maskhuta hoard (*IGCH* 1649).

1. Obol; ANS 1944.100.62651 (= Newell 1938: no. 26); 0.88 g; 12:00.
2. Obol; ANS 1944.100.62653 (= Newell 1938: no. 34); 0.57 g; 12:00.
- 3–4. Drachms, Buttrey style M; Flament 2001: 41.
5. Drachm; ANS 1951.17.2 (= van Alfen 2002: Maskhouta no. 8) 3.88 g; 9:00.

### III. Takhos

The British Museum owns the sole example of a gold Athenian imitation with the Greek legend **TAΩ**, referring to Ta(kh)os, Pharaoh of Egypt for only two years, 363/2–362/1. The coin is almost certainly related to his campaign against the Persian king in the Levant, a campaign which required novel economic measures for its financing (see below). The weight of the coin is not Attic, but corresponds to the Persian gold daric (Hill 1926: 130).

1. Hill 1926: p. 130, no.23: AV, 8.30 g; 9:00.

### IV. Nektanebo II (?)

Another series of gold coins, of which approximately eighty are known,<sup>25</sup> is clearly Egyptian; these coins do not imitate those of Athens but rather have on the obverse a prancing horse, on the reverse hieroglyphs meaning “good gold” (*nefer nub*). Jenkins (1955: 150) felt “virtually forced” to choose Nektanebo II (361/60–343), Takhos’ usurper, as the pharaoh responsible for the issue, an attribution quite open to dispute. A matter of complication too is the fact that the weights of the coins vary considerably (from c. 8.00 g to 8.90 g), making it difficult to determine what standard was used; Jenkins favored the daric. Jenkins also published in the same article a silver coin (1955: 148, pl. XIII, B; the ANS possesses a die duplicate) that could be related to the gold series. The obverse roughly imitates the head of Athena, while the reverse displays an original design: two inward-facing eagles framing the hieroglyphs *nefer* (“good”) and *neb*

<sup>25</sup> Individual published examples are rare. Jenkins (1955: 149) lists the weights, but no other details, of 20 coins. Bolshakov (1992) discusses one more in the Hermitage collection; the ANS also owns one example (1963.268.72). Wolfgang Fischer-Bossert is currently preparing a study of this coinage.



("all"). The use of *nefer* on both series (as well as for a countermark, Figure 1 no. 9, found on a number of Athenian coins that had circulated in Egypt) might serve to connect the two issues; the attributions otherwise remain unresolved. Finally, a series of bronze fractions in at least two denominations having a leaping animal (gazelle or goat) on the obverse and a set of balance scales on the reverse was attributed to Nektanebo by Weiser (1995: no. 1), who published the first known example. This attribution, however, is entirely speculative and awaits confirmation by further finds, preferably from Egypt.<sup>26</sup>

#### *AR fractions*

1. Jenkins 1955: 148, pl. XIII, B: 0.56 g.
2. ANS 1965.139.1; 0.50 g; 11:00.

#### *AE fractions*

1. Weiser 1995: no. 1; 2.56 g; 12:00.
2. CNG 57, 4 April 2001, lot 604; 4.31 g.
3. Frank L. Kovacs ([www.frankkovacs.com](http://www.frankkovacs.com)), 12 November 2002, no. 31037; 4.25 g.

#### V. Artaxerxes series

Although this series of coins has been known since 1954, it wasn't until the example from the 1973 Iraq hoard surfaced, having a clear, well-centered legend, that the Demotic inscription was correctly translated as "Pharaoh Artaxerxes" (Shore 1974). Earlier attempts at deciphering the inscription had teased out the name Takhos and thus the coin was thought to be an issue of this ruler, minted in conjunction with the gold series (Jenkins 1955: 145). Of the three Persian kings named Artaxerxes, Mørkholm (1974: 3) argued that it must have been Artaxerxes III Okhos who minted the series during the five years of his rule, 343/2 to 338/7, after his conquest of Egypt. There is little reason to dispute Mørkholm's conclusion.

<sup>26</sup> Fischer-Bossert (personal communication) has expressed serious doubt about the Nektanebo attribution, suggesting instead that they originated in Asia Minor.

Until the discovery of the 1989 Syria hoard, only a very small number of the coins were known; that number has now grown to seventeen examples divided into four primary types. Price (1993) laid the groundwork for distinguishing the different types, but did not take the matter farther. Here I continue Price's work by setting forth the types and their stylistic criteria, and noting die links. The listing of the types likely reflects a chronological sequence, if we can presume a progression from frontal-eye to profile-eye styles mimicking that at Athens. The sequence of the sub-categories of type IV is not certain, although type IVd might well be the last of the series due to the presence of the "Sabakes symbol".

### *Type I*

The obverse of this type shows what is at times a rather crudely cut frontal-eye Athena (e.g., no. 1); all other helmet features are similar to Attic owls of the later fifth century. On the reverse, the owl, as on no. 2, can appear close to fifth-century types with finer features, or, as on no. 1, to later *pi*-type owls with large dots denoting body feathers. The Demotic inscription on these coins differs in execution from that on type II, thus it is called style A Demotic.

1. O1/R1: British Museum; 15.41 g; 9:00 (Mørkholm 1974: no. 8).
2. O2/R2: 1973 Iraq hoard; 17.06 g; 9:00; obv: 2 cuts; rev: cut (Mørkholm 1974: no. 7).
3. O3/R3: 1989 Syria no. 115 (= Price 147); 17.21 g; 7:00.
4. O4/R4: 1989 Syria no. 116 (= Price 148); 15.70 g; 9:00; rev: 2 cuts.
5. O5/R5: 1989 Syria no. 117 (= Price 149); 16.26 g; 7:00; obv: cut; rev: 4 cuts.

### *Type II*

Athena's eye on this type appears caught in a transition between frontal and profile style. Also the placement of the ear is odd, too high and too far back, and the floral ornament behind the ear is too small when compared to Attic issues. On the reverse a *pi*-style owl and style A Demotic are found.

- 6a. O6/R6: 1989 Syria no.118 (= Price 150); 17.26 g; 11:00.
- 6b. O6/R6: 1989 Syria no.119 (= Price 151); 16.69 g; 12:00.

*Type III*

The more cursive style B Demotic legend replaces style A; all other characteristics of this type adhere closely to the Athenian *pi*-style issues.

7. O7/R7: 1989 Syria no. 120 (= Price 152); 17.18 g; 9:00; obv: cut.
8. O8/R8: 1989 Syria no. 121 (= Price 153); 16.26 g; 9:00.
9. O9/R9: *Triton* II, lot 515; 16.84 g; obv: die flaw.

*Type IV*

Price noted the stylistic continuity between type III and type IVa and suggested that they belong to the same series. The inscriptions on type IVa, however, complicate the question. The inscription to the left of the owl is recognizably Aramaic, but the two-line inscription to the right is neither securely Aramaic nor securely Demotic and cannot be read. In the Aramaic, on the other hand, Price (1993: 31) read three letters, *zayin*, *hel*, *kaph*, and understood them to represent the name of the minting official; the suggestion of the cataloguer for Auctiones 20, Nov. 1990, lot 512, that "Tarsus" might be read seems less likely. On types IVb-d the inscription to right is likely derived from the Demotic inscriptions of types I–III above, but again appears garbled.<sup>27</sup> All three types (IVb-d) have the Aramaic letters *ayin samek* either to the left of the owl (IVb and d), or below the tail feathers (IVc).<sup>28</sup> In addition to these inscriptions, type IVd bears the "Sabakes symbol" (see below) in the right field, and the signs *ankh*, *wedj*, *seneb* of the pharaonic formula "life, prosperity, wealth".

<sup>27</sup> Over a century ago, Six (1877: 224, no. 17; 231, n.141), who examined the coin in Berlin (no. 15 here) thought he could read Aramaic *LSMSH* in the inscription, a reading due partly to the second line of the inscription being off-flan, as well as the garbled nature of the inscription itself.

<sup>28</sup> This same abbreviation, *ayin samek*, appears on two unrelated issues, a well-made *pi*-style imitation (Le Rider 1961: 13, no. 7) and one of Mazakes' imitations from Babylonia (van Alfen 2000: no. X12).

*Type IVa*

- 10a. O10/R10: 1989 Syria no. 122 (= Price 154); 17.00 g; 7:00; rev: 2 cuts.  
 10b. O10/R10: *Auctiones* 20, Nov. 1990, lot 512; 16.37 g.

*Type IVb*

- 11a. O11/R11: *Triton* I, Dec. 1997, lot 621 (= Leu 83, lot 261); 15.75 g; obv: ctmk no. 1.  
 11b. O11/R11: Paris 1973.1.447 (Nicolet-Pierre 2000: 122, n. 20).  
 12. O11/R12: Svoronos 1975: pl. 108.27; 17.03 g.

*Type IVc*

13. O11/R13: 1989 Syria no. 123 (= Price 155); 16.35 g; rev: 3 cuts.

*Type IVd*

14. O12/R14: 1989 Syria no. 124 (= Price 156); 16.90 g; 7:00; rev: 2 cuts.

## V. Sabakes series

Well-known and well-discussed over the course of the last century, this series is the issue of the antepenultimate Persian satrap of Egypt (c. 340–333), whose name has come to us as Sabakes.<sup>29</sup> All 49 examples listed here are well-executed *pi*-style imitations generally minted on large, flat flans. Variation, when it occurs, is primarily to be found in the legends. All examples bear, in the right field, a large four letter Aramaic inscription, *SWYK*, to the left of which is a symbol, here called the “Sabakes symbol”, possibly representing a lightning bolt. Additional Aramaic (?) letters appear in the left field on type III coins. The unusual shape of the three characters, however, makes deci-

<sup>29</sup> One of the first scholars to study the series, Six (1888) initially argued that the series belonged to Sabakes, then later (1895) retracted his argument and suggested the coins came from the Syrian village of Sokha. Nicolet-Pierre’s (1979) definitive study of the coinage again argued for Sabakes; Lipinski’s (1982) suggestion that the coinage was minted by the Jewish colony at Syene has been largely ignored (but see Price 1990).

pherment quite difficult; the function of the letters has been understood to be a toponym denoting the mint, or the name of the minting official, or perhaps a formula indicating the denomination.<sup>30</sup> The basic difference between type I and type II coins is the shape of the final letter of the Aramaic legend; on type I coins the letter appears closer in shape to *nun*, while on type II it is clearly a *kaph*. Disagreements about the translation of the legend have focused almost exclusively on this final character; on type III coins one can see that both shapes are used alternately, thus showing that the difference was primarily due to the individual engraver's style.

Both the preserved number of examples and the number of dies suggest that this was a fairly large coinage.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, it was supplemented by at least three different types of fractional coinage in both bronze and silver that also were imitative, but not of Athens. The silver fractions (type I) imitate those of Sidon, with a galley on the obverse and the Persian king grappling a lion on the reverse; above the galley on no. 1 the legend *SWYK* appears. The two types of bronze issues are more reminiscent of satrapal issues from southern Asia Minor than purely imitative. Type I carries a lion (with star above) on the obverse much like that found on the lion staters of Babylon and on the reverse a standing archer with Aramaic *SWYK* to the right; type II has a kneeling archer and *SWYK* legend (to left) on the reverse, with a bearded head to right on the obverse.

#### *Sabakes Athenian Imitations*

##### Type I: *nun*-type

- 1a. O1/R1 (Nicolet-Pierre 1); 17.05 g; 9:00; obv: ctmk 1; rev: ctmk 1.
- 1b. O1/R1 ANS 1944.100.75462; 16.70 g; 9:00; rev: ctmk 1.

<sup>30</sup> See the discussion in Nicolet-Pierre (1979: 226-27). Lipinski (1982: 28) suggests the three letters should be read as *MNP* (= Memphis); Six (1888: 137) suggested the name of a Persian quaestor.

<sup>31</sup> The Alexandria museum possesses at least four additional examples (Lipinski 1982: 25; Babelon 1907: no. 1100); Newell (1938: 65) mentions that he had been offered "several" for sale in Egypt, but turned them down because of their poor condition. The list of coins that follows is based on that of Nicolet-Pierre (1979); the numeration of the dies (e.g., O1/R1) likewise follows her schema.

2. O1/R2 (Nicolet-Pierre 2).
- 3a. O1/R3 (Nicolet-Pierre 3); 16.35 g; 9:00; obv: ctmk 32.
- 3b. O1/R3: 1989 Syria no. 125 (= Price 157); 16.95 g; 9:00; rev: ctmk 1.
4. O2/R4 (Nicolet-Pierre 4); 17.12 g; obv: ctmks 3 and 18 (?); rev: ctmk 4.
5. O2/R? 1989 Syria no. 126 (= Price 158); 16.70 g; 9:00; rev: ctmk 1; cut.
6. O3/R5 (Nicolet-Pierre 5); 16.66 g; 7:00; obv: ctmks 32 and 33; rev: ctmk 16 and (?).
7. O?/R5? Ward Collection, 502 (ANS photo file); 17.01 g; obv: ctmk 1; rev: ctmk 1.
8. O4/R6 (Nicolet-Pierre 6); 16.24 g; obv: ctmk 1; rev: ctmk 1.
9. O5/R7 (Nicolet-Pierre 7); 15.10 g.
10. O6?/R8? (Nicolet-Pierre 8); 17.19 g.
11. O7/R9 (Nicolet-Pierre 9); 16.04 g; rev: ctmk 19.
12. O8/R10 (Nicolet-Pierre 10); 14.97 g; rev: ctmk 8.
- 13a. O8/R11 (Nicolet-Pierre 11a); 15.08 g.
- 13b. O8/R11 (Nicolet-Pierre 11b); 15.55 g; ctmk 34.
- 13c. O8/R11: *Münzen & Medaillen*, XIX, 6/6/59, lot 431.
14. O8/R12 (Nicolet-Pierre 12); 16.58 g; 7:00; obv: ctmk 35.
15. O8/R13 (Nicolet-Pierre 13); 16.72 g; rev: ctmk 16; cut.
16. O8/R?: CNG 53, 3/15/00, lot 689; 16.73 g; obv: cut; rev: ctmk 3; 2 cuts.
17. O8/R not in Nicolet-Pierre; Sotheby's, Late Collector, 1900, lot 439; 17.10 g.
18. O/R not in Nicolet-Pierre; *Münzen & Medaillen*, FPL 235, Aug. 1963, lot 16; 14.11 g; rev: ctmk 1.

Type II: *kaph*-type

19. O8/R14 (Nicolet-Pierre 14); obv. ctmk (?); rev: ctmk 1.
- 20a. O8/R15 (Nicolet-Pierre 15a); 16.19 g; rev: ctmk 19 (?).
- 20b. O8/R15 (Nicolet-Pierre 15b); 15.99 g.
- 21a. O9/R16 (Nicolet-Pierre 16a).
- 21b. O9/R16 (Nicolet-Pierre 16b); 15.80 g; 12:00.
- 21c. O9/R16: Sotheby's, Delbeke Collection, 1907, lot 223.
- 21d. O9/R16: *Triton* II, 12/1/98, lot 516; 15.89 g.
22. O10/R17 (Nicolet-Pierre 17); 15.82 g.

23. O?/R?: *Numismatica Wien*, 7, 13.ii.75, lot 97; 16.78 g; 7:00; obv: 2 cuts; rev: cut.

Type III: three Aramaic (?) letters to left

- 24a. O11/R18 (Nicolet-Pierre 18); 17.08 g; 9:00; obv: ctmk 1; rev: ctmk no. 1.  
 24b. O11/R18: 1989 Syria no. 127 (= Price 159); 17.08 g; 9:00.  
 24c. O11/R18: 1989 Syria no. 128 (= Price 160); 16.48 g; 9:00; rev: 2 cuts.  
 25. O11/R19 (Nicolet-Pierre 19); 16.07 g; obv: ctmks 15 and 36; rev: ctmk 36.  
 26a. O11/R20 (Nicolet-Pierre 20a).  
 26b. O11/R20 (Nicolet-Pierre 20b); 16.79 g; 9:00; obv: cut; rev: cut.  
 27a. O11/R21 (Nicolet-Pierre 21); 15.66 g; 9:00; obv: ctmk 3; rev: cut.  
 27b. O11/R22: 1989 Syria no. 131 (= Price 163); 16.88 g; 9:00; obv: ctmk 1 (x 3); rev: ctmk 1 (x 2).  
 28a. O11/R22 (Nicolet-Pierre 22); 17.21 g; obv: ctmk 29.  
 28b. O11/R22: 1989 Syria no. 129 (= Price 161); 16.70 g; 8:00.  
 28c. O11/R22: 1989 Syria no. 130 (= Price 162); 16.79 g; 9:00; obv: ctmk 1; rev: ctmk 1.  
 29a. O11/R23 (Nicolet-Pierre 23); 16.95 g.  
 29b. O11/R23: *CNG* 49, 3/17/99, lot 738; 16.46 g; obv: ctmk 1; rev: cut.  
 30. O11/R24 (Nicolet-Pierre 24); 16.50 g.  
 31. O11/R25 (Nicolet-Pierre 25); 16.27 g; 6:00.  
 32. O11?/R? (Nicolet-Pierre 26); rev: ctmk 1 (x 2); cut.  
 33. O11/R not in Nicolet-Pierre: *CNG* 49, 3/17/99, lot 737; 17.01 g; obv: ctmk (?); rev: ctmk 4; cut.  
 34. O11/R not in Nicolet-Pierre: 1989 Syria no. 132 (= Price 164); 16.66 g; 9:00; obv: ctmk 1; rev: ctmk 4.

*Sabakes fractional coinage*

Type I: AR, Sidonian types (galley/king fighting lion).

1. Six 1895: 206, no. 1: 0.70 g; rev: *shin* in exergue.
2. Six 1895: 206, no. 2: 0.41 g; obv: no legend; rev: *samek kaph?* to r.

## Type II: AE, lion/standing archer

1. Bableon, *Traité*, II<sup>2</sup>: 635, no. 1026: obv: M to r.
2. ANS 1944.100.75464 (= Nicolet-Pierre 1979: pl. 26, A): 1.18 g; 12:00.
3. University of Pennsylvania excavations at Memphis (see Newell 1938: 66).
4. London (see Nicolet-Pierre 1979: 228): 1.32 g; 12:00.

## Type III: AE, bearded head/kneeling archer

1. Paris (Nicolet-Pierre 1979: pl. 26, B): 0.98 g; 5:00.
2. London (Nicolet-Pierre 1979: 228): 1.07 g; 12:00.
3. London (Nicolet-Pierre 1979: 228): 1.51 g; 12:00.

## VI. Mazakes-series

Mazakes was appointed satrap of Egypt in 333 when Sabakes fell at the battle of Issus; a year later, in November 332, he turned Egypt over to the Macedonians without a fight. His Egyptian series of imitations,<sup>32</sup> short-lived (333–332) and comparatively small in number, is unquestionably a continuation of the Sabakes series, but with the Aramaic legend *MZDK* replacing *SWYK*, and the “Mazakes symbol” replacing that of Sabakes. Continuity also seems to have been maintained in the production of fractions. At least one bronze type is known having a bearded head and legend *MZDK* to right on the obverse, a galley with the Mazakes symbol above on the reverse. In addition to the bronze fraction and tetradrachms, there is as well a unique drachm in the name of Mazakes (Nicolet-Pierre 1979: pl. 26, i).

*Mazakes Athenian imitations*<sup>33</sup>

## Tetradrachms

1. O12/R26 (Nicolet-Pierre 27); 16.65 g; 9:00; obv: ctmk 3.
2. O12/R27 (Nicolet-Pierre 28); 17.08 g.
3. O12/R28 (Nicolet-Pierre 29); 16.45 g; 9:00.

<sup>32</sup> See van Alfen (2000) for Mazakes' Babylonian series.

<sup>33</sup> This list is based on that found in Nicolet-Pierre (1979); the numeration of the dies, like that for the Sabakes series, follows her schema.



## Drachm

1. Nicolet-Pierre 1979: pl. 26, I; 4.09 g; 9:00.

*Mazakes fractional coinage*

## AE, bearded head/ galley

1. ANS 1944.100.75465 (= Nicolet-Pierre 1979: pl. 26, C); 1.41 g; 6:00.

## DISCUSSION

*A. Egyptian minting*

A great deal about Athenian imitations is still not understood and must await study of the phenomenon of ancient imitation as a whole as well as of individual series.<sup>34</sup> As a handful of examples show (e.g., Leu 83, 6-7/4/02, lot 243), the imitation of Athens' owl began early in the fifth century. By the end of the century, or more likely the beginning of the fourth, imitations were being produced extensively in Egypt and the Levant; by the end of the fourth century the practice had spread to Babylonia, Bactria (roughly modern Afghanistan), and South Arabia. In these latter areas imitations of Athenian coins were, if not the absolute first, then among the very first coins to be produced locally, a testament both to the range of ancient trade routes and to the unparalleled esteem for the Athenian owl as an instrument of exchange along the way. From an early date the Levant and Egypt, both lacking extensive precious-metal resources, especially silver, were eager to siphon off as much silver and gold from the more bountifully supplied Aegean as possible. In Egypt (and the Levant?) special taxes directed specifically at Aegean merchandise and ship captains brought large amounts of Aegean silver and gold into state coffers;<sup>35</sup> these

<sup>34</sup> Figueira (1998: 528–535) offers an overview of the phenomenon in Egypt and Asia Minor; Nicolet-Pierre (2000) does likewise for the Levant.

<sup>35</sup> See, for example, the Ahiqar customs document from Egypt dated c. 475 BC which records gold and silver taxes paid by incoming Greek ships; Phoenician ships paid only silver (Yardeni 1994). Also from the fifth century are the Naukratis stele and its twin recently recovered from the waters near Alexandria, which list the

taxes and general (market) exchange are likely to account for the large numbers of Greek coin hoards from the early fifth century on found throughout the region.<sup>36</sup>

Despite the considerable presence of Aegean coins in the East, however, local coinages were slow to appear; the Phoenician city-states were the first to mint at the far eastern edge of the Mediterranean beginning around the middle of the fifth century;<sup>37</sup> Phoenicia's (southern) neighbors—Judea, Philistia, and Egypt—did not begin to mint until nearly three quarters of a century later. The delay likely had more to do with the unabated, massive, and traditional use of certain forms of precious metals in exchange, e.g., ingots and *Hacksilber*, than with a lack of financial sophistication.<sup>38</sup> Of all the eastern Mediterranean areas to mint, however, Egypt was among the very last; and when, at last, the coins did appear they were by and large close imitations of Athens' owl, not the more original, indigenous types from Cilicia and Phoenicia, for example, or even the highly modified Athenian types from the southern Levantine cities of Gaza and Ascalon (for examples, see Mildenburg 1994, 1995, 1997, 2000). Why there was such a strict adherence to the Athenian types in Egypt, as also happened in South Arabia and Bactria, is difficult to explain; social psychology, economics, perhaps even politics all might have contributed to the design choice.<sup>39</sup> Once selected, however, there was no effort over the

required taxes, including amounts in silver and gold, to be paid by ships coming from and going to the Aegean (Lichtheim 1976). For brief discussions on later Ptolemaic attempts to steer gold and silver into Egypt see Emmons (1954) and von Reden (2001).

<sup>36</sup> For an overview of fifth- and fourth-century Greek coin hoards from Egypt and the Levant see *IGCH* 1478–1521; 1632–1663, pp. 200–201, 225–226, and the relevant sections of *Coin Hoards* I–IX. Kroll (2001) provides an overview of those hoards from Egypt containing ingots and/or *Hacksilber* in addition to just coins.

<sup>37</sup> Cypriot coinage, which began before the Phoenician issues, is anomalous and might be the result of the Greek presence on the island. For an overview of Phoenician minting see Elayi and Elayi (1993).

<sup>38</sup> For a recent reassessment of the long-standing use of these forms of currency in the Mediterranean see the volume edited by M. Balmuth (2001).

<sup>39</sup> To date Nicolet-Pierre (1986) is the only scholar who has investigated what might be called the psychological aspects of the Athenian imitations phenomenon, but has done so in a manner too general to be of use here.

course of decades and successive governing administrations to steer away from the Athenian owl as the type for Egypt's large denominational silver coinage. The imitations produced under Persian suzerainty (343–332), those of the Persian king Artaxerxes III Okhos and those of the satraps Sabakes and Mazakes were interrelated and thus can be considered individual elements of one continuous monetary/coinage system. What is less certain, however, is whether any of the other imitative types are related to one another or to the Persian series, thus giving evidence of other or more expansive monetary/coinage systems either predating or continuing with the Persian (re)conquest in 343. In order to elucidate Egyptian minting and monetary systems in the fourth century, it is perhaps best to view the evidence from the chronological end towards the beginning, from the better understood series of coins to the least understood.

During the year or so that Mazakes was satrap of Egypt (333–332), he took pains to continue a monetary system inherited from his predecessor.<sup>40</sup> With the silver Athenian imitations he changed little in the production methods of the coins—e.g., their fabric, weights, and die axes—from those of Sabakes; the primary change, of course, was that his name now appeared on the coins as the issuing authority. His sole surviving fractional bronze issue shows a change in type from that of his predecessor, but the general Persian/Levantine feel of the bronze (and silver) fraction remains constant. The very existence of fractional coinage is a sure sign that the Persian satrap, in conjunction with his treasury staff, had purposely designed a coinage system to accommodate a considerable range of transactions. At the same time, the planners adopted one of the more sophisticated fiscal techniques then current in the Greek world and the Levant for providing consumers with small change but to the treasury's advantage, namely the use of token bronze coins. Mazakes, as noted, inherited this system, and there is little about it—the regularity and quality in production technique, for example, or the broad conception—to suggest that it was conceived and implemented solely for the war effort against the

<sup>40</sup> Nicolet-Pierre's study (1979) of this coinage, and the Sabakes series, provides an in-depth look at the philological issues concerning the two satraps, as well as the relationship between their coinages.

Macedonians.<sup>41</sup> Fractions, especially bronze fractions, were meant for local circulation, i.e., local economies, since their inflated value extended only as far as the authority of the issuing body. Although larger-denomination precious-metal issues, like the imitation tetradrachms, certainly could and probably did play some role in the (international) financing of the defense effort, these coins were only one part of a larger monetary system, and not necessarily one meant to accommodate only the salaries of soldiers.

The system reached its fullest development under Sabakes, who, in fact, may have been responsible for its implementation. No fractional coinage yet has been found associated with the Artaxerxes series, and perhaps none ever will be since that series is in many ways quite unusual, as we will see shortly. One or two non-Persian series of silver fractional coins may have antedated Sabakes (see below), but this satrap appears to have been the first Egyptian authority to introduce in his name a full suite of coins, from large denomination tetradrachms to a variety of silver and bronze fractions. This system was highly organized, at least from the administrative perspective, as the various additional marks and letters on the tetradrachms and fractions attest. Although we may never be able to decipher the specific meaning of these marks,<sup>42</sup> we can be certain, given parallels elsewhere, that the marks were related to the bureaucracy behind the coinage, most likely to the accountability of individuals within that bureaucracy. The use of Aramaic on these coins, a non-indigenous language and one point-

<sup>41</sup> Kraay (1976: 76) suggests that both the Sabakes and Mazakes series were meant to pay mercenaries. Mildenberg (1998: 282) argues that the Artaxerxes series, which initiated all three Persian series, was not meant to pay mercenaries "but to supply local currency to the province". Not enough is known about the extent of coin use in pre-Macedonian Egypt to posit specific reasons for the production of the various issues; and of course, as Howgego (1990) has notably shown, the reasons could be varied indeed. The use of the word "stater" in several late fifth-century Aramaic documents from Egypt implies coin use at the local level decades before the Persian reconquest (Chauveau 2000; Kroll 2001: 14–15). For coin use in the immediate post-Persian (i.e., Ptolemaic) period, see von Reden (2001) and, in the same volume, Rowlandson (2001).

<sup>42</sup> See Nicolet-Pierre's (1979: 226) inconclusive discussion of the marks and characters on the Sakakes series.

edly tied to Persian satrapal administration, reinforces the highly legalistic and even colonial nature of the series. In fact, there is nothing about these coins that marks them specifically as Egyptian; the only concession apparently to local tradition, if it can be called such, is the continued use of the Athenian owl as the basic template for the larger denominations.

Despite the administrative weight behind the series, their execution at the mint stood in need of greater attention to detail. The die engraver(s) was/were clearly talented,<sup>43</sup> and the flans, larger and thinner than those coming from Athens, imparted a more attractive overall appearance to the coins since more of the design remained on the flan rather than off. But the weights of the coins, as can be seen in Table 2, were chaotic, and the die axes, while generally at 9:00, show enough variation that we can be sure that die-axis control was not an overriding concern. The weights of the coins are, in fact, a serious problem. While there is a concentration of 23% of the coins for which we have weights at c. 16.75 g, suggesting that the Levantine shekel of c. 8.4 g was the standard in use,<sup>44</sup> another 22% of the coins weigh more than 17.00 g, perhaps pointing to the Athenian standard as the mark. Looking both forward and backwards beyond the Sabakes series, the Artaxerxes and Mazakes series would seem to favor an Athenian standard slightly (Table 2). Whatever the intended standard might have been, however, the extreme lack of control in the Sabakes series could indicate more than just sloppiness at the mint. Such poor control is generally attributed to highly stressed conditions, like wartime, when quality standards are lowered in order to quicken the production pace. However, the chaotic weights could also mean that the value of the coin was set by the issuing authority, whatever the actual weight

<sup>43</sup> There is a resemblance between the Athena of the Sabakes/Mazakes coins and the Alexander on Ptolemy I's earliest tetradrachms (cf. *SNG Cop* no. 19, 29-30); some of these Ptolemaic obverse dies were signed  $\Delta$ , an indication that the engraver took pride in his work. Could this man, or others, have worked for both the Persians and the Ptolemies?

<sup>44</sup> One reason perhaps why the Athenian owl became so popular in the east was the fact that the tetradrachm of c. 17.00 g was near enough the weight of two shekels (16.80 g) to be used as a two-shekel piece, as Aramaic documents from fifth century Egypt show (Chauveau 2000; see also Bivar 1985: 615; Tuplin 1987: 112).

(and thus intrinsic value) of the coin might have been. In other words, Sabakes' tetradrachms might have been intentionally and officially overvalued, much like bronze fractional issues, in which case precision in the weights would not have mattered greatly. If this were so, the case for the Sabakes series being intended by the administration to serve as a purely local coinage would be strengthened since the coin's value within the province would be higher than it would be outside.<sup>45</sup> This might also explain why so comparatively few of the Sabakes and Mazakes coins have been found outside of Egypt despite what seems to have been, at least for the Sabakes series, a reasonably large production.

Administrative and conceptual continuity between Sabakes' series and that of Mazakes is plainly seen, but between the Artaxerxes series and that of Sabakes it is somewhat more difficult to grasp. In large measure this has to do with the enigmatic Demotic legend found on the coins. Thanks to Shore's (1974) re-reading of the legend its meaning is no longer an issue, but what it is trying to say in sociopolitical and economic terms is still quite opaque. Two problems concerning this legend require explanation: first, in the larger context of the Persian empire, this is the only known series of coins to spell out the actual name of the Great King, rather than simply his title.<sup>46</sup> Secondly, within an Egyptian context, this is the only series of coins known that bears a Demotic legend, rather than one in hieroglyphs, Greek, or Aramaic. The combination of these two problems on one coin, and one that is purely imitative, is quite exceptional. While it can be argued that the use of Aramaic on the Sabakes and Mazakes series was due to the administrative and bureaucratic context within which

<sup>45</sup> By extension the theory also suggests that the unusual monetary practices of the Ptolemies, specifically their overvalued precious metal coinages and closed monetary system, may have been inspired, adopted, or adapted from the practices of their Persian satrapal predecessors. For the various monetary manipulations of Ptolemy I, see Emmons (1954).

<sup>46</sup> The Persian silver sigloi and gold darics bear no legends at all. However, two series of coins from (southern) Asia Minor, both of which are very likely satrapal issues—the archer series (Mildenberg 1998: 281) and the unique "Tissaphernes" owl imitation (Robinson 1948: 48; Kraay 1976: 74)—bear the legends **BA/BAΣ**, without doubt a reference to the title of the Great King.

TABLE 2. Tetradrachm Weights

<b>I. Buttrey Style B (7 coins)</b>		
Highest-lowest weights: 16.41-17.10 g		
Average weight: 16.91 g		
Median weight: 16.75 g		
<b>II. Buttrey Style M (7 coins)</b>		
Highest-lowest weights: 16.82-17.09		
Average weight: 17.00 g		
Median weight: 16.94 g		
<b>III. Buttrey Style X (10 coins)</b>		
Highest-lowest weights: 16.12-17.09 g		
Average weight: 16.82 g		
Median weight: 16.60 g		
<b>IV. Artaxerxes Series (14 coins)</b>		
Below 16:00	***	3
16.25-16.29	**	2
16.30-16.34		0
16.35-16.39	**	2
16.40-16.64		0
16.65-16.69	*	1
16.70-16.89		0
16.90-16.94	*	1
16.95-16.99		0
17.00-17.04	**	2
17.05-17.09	*	1
17.10-17.14		0
17.15-17.19	*	1
17.20-17.24	*	1
17.25-17.29	*	1

Highest-lowest weights: 15.41-17.26

Average weight: 16.56 g

Median weight: 16.33 g

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V. Sabakes Series (41 coins)

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Below 15.70	*****	6
15.70-15.74		0
15.75-15.79		0
15.80-15.84	**	2
15.85-15.89	*	1
15.90-15.94		0
15.95-15.99	*	1
16.00-16.04	*	1
16.05-16.09	*	1
16.10-16.14		0
16.15-16.19	*	1
16.20-16.24	*	1
16.25-16.29	*	1
16.30-16.34		0
16.35-16.39	*	1
16.40-16.44		0
16.45-16.49	**	2
16.50-16.54	*	1
16.55-16.59	*	1
16.60-16.64		0
16.65-16.69	**	2
16.70-16.74	*****	5
16.75-16.79	***	3
16.80-16.84		0
16.85-16.89	*	1
16.90-16.94		0
16.95-16.99	**	2
17.00-17.04	**	2
17.05-17.09	***	3
17.10-17.14	**	2
17.20-17.24	*	1

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Lowest-highest weight: 14.97-17.21

Average weight: 16.46 g

Median weight: 16.09 g

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**VI. Mazakes Series (3 coins)**

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Lowest-highest weights: 16.45-17.08 g

Average weight: 16.73 g

Median weight: 16.76 g

TABLE 3. Die Axis Frequencies

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**I. Buttreys Style B (8 coins)**

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9:00: 75% of total

7:00: 12%

11:00: 12%

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**II. Buttreys Style M (7 coins)**

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9:00: 100% of total

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**III. Buttreys Style X (10 coins)**

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9:00: 100% of total

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**IV. Artaxerxes Series (11 coins)**

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9:00: 45% of total

7:00: 36%

11:00: 9%

12:00: 9%

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**V. Sabakes Series (19 coins)**

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9:00: 68% of total

7:00: 16%

6:00: 5%

8:00: 5%

12:00: 5%

the coins were produced, such arguments do not seem applicable to the Artaxerxes series. Harrison (1982: 383) has asserted “[a]ll that the demotic legend proves is that the coins were minted under the aegis of Egyptian-speaking officials; it says nothing about the intended recipients”. However, there is no evidence that the Persians, under either the first or the second occupation of Egypt, entrusted native Egyptian bureaucrats in the treasury with such oversight (Briant 1988: 163). And, in fact, as the Sabakes and Mazakes series prove, Persian administrative oversight in the production of coinage was quite complete.<sup>47</sup> Responsibility for the coinage, especially the design and legend, must therefore lie within a Persian milieu, not Egyptian. As a Persian coin produced and circulated within Egypt, the native legend must have been intended to convey a message quite different from the staid, administrative Aramaic of the latter series. Despite Harrison’s arguments, the legend does, in fact, say a great deal about the intended recipients, as well as the relationship between them and the newly arrived Persians. The use of Demotic spelling out “Artaxerxes Pharaoh” could only have conveyed one thing: an assertion that after decades of failed attempts by the Persians to reconquer Egypt, including two by Artaxerxes himself (in 358 and 351), the Persians at long last succeeded and Artaxerxes was indeed finally pharaoh. More emotion, perhaps, is contained in this legend than in any other of the period, and this force of emotion might help to explain the legend’s oddities.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Briant (1989: 328-329) argues that the right of coinage within the Persian empire had to have come directly from the king; no satrap would have minted without imperial authority. Thus the levels of administration and control in Persian satrapal and imperial coinages ran quite deep.

<sup>48</sup> It is odd, as Shore noted (1974: 7), that this is the only example of Artaxerxes’ name appearing in any official, inscribed context not in hieroglyphs and not in a cartouche. Demotic, as Shore suggests, was no doubt chosen in order to convey the message to more rather than fewer people. Egyptian literacy, at least for Demotic, seems to have been fairly high (Lloyd 1994: 351). It is also significant that the first Persian coinage in Egypt was not in the name of the satrap installed by Artaxerxes, Pherendates II, as one might expect from the perspective of the Sabakes and Mazakes coins, but in the king’s own name. Finally, the series might also be considered in the light of the stories that Okhos brutally ravaged Egypt after his victory

But the meaning of the legend is not the only problem concerning the Artaxerxes coins. Stylistic and administrative progressions appeared to have taken place during the life of the series. A mid-fourth-century transition from frontal eye to profile eye (types I–III) is to be expected in an Athenian imitative series attempting to keep pace with developments in Athens.<sup>49</sup> Stylistic developments in the legend, however, are more difficult to explain. Demotic styles A and B (types I, II, and III) differ only in execution; both are highly legible. In the type IV coins, however, the legend becomes quite illegible, while the newly added Aramaic characters in various fields on the reverse are, conversely, recognizable. These additional characters in Aramaic are the telltale signs of a bureaucracy much like Sabakes'; that Sabakes' symbol appears on type IVd could mean that his administration was in fact responsible for some of the Artaxerxes coins. If this was the case, we can imagine a scenario wherein a triumphant Artaxerxes (personally?) initiated the owl series and his satrap Pherendates continued to mint the coins until Egypt was again lost to the ephemeral rebel Khababash c. 338. When the Persians returned in 336, Sabakes, the new satrap, briefly continued the series, perhaps only until he could consolidate his monetary plans. The greater emphasis on legible Aramaic control marks, while allowing the legibility of the Demotic to slip,<sup>50</sup> no doubt reflects his greater concern for bureaucratic matters than for the *Machtdemonstration* of a now dead king.<sup>51</sup>

(Lloyd 1994: 344). Even if they are (mostly) fiction, the tales still portray a man moved by emotion in his triumph.

<sup>49</sup> One can also note a similar progression from frontal eye to profile eye in the mid-fourth-century coins of the Phoenician city-state of Aradus. While not directly imitating the Athenian coins, the Aradian engravers nevertheless seem to have been influenced by changes at Athens (Elayi and Elayi 1993: 55).

<sup>50</sup> The bilingual (Greek and Aramaic) inscriptions that appear on satrapal coins from Cilicia are generally quite legible (see Moysey 1986: 8). The fact that the legibility of the Demotic has been diminished in the Artaxerxes series could mean that the administration was no longer concerned with its message, or that illiterate engravers were used.

<sup>51</sup> The term is Mildenberg's (1993: 73; 1998: 281–282) who prefers to see a more innocuous message conveyed with the legend than what is argued here.

Turning now to the coinage of pre-Persian Egypt, the unique gold imitation of Takhos is the only solidly attributed coin in the lot. Although his reign as Pharaoh was short, Takhos appears to have been more innovative and aggressive in financial and military matters than his predecessors. Unlike the defensive posture assumed against Persia taken by the other pharaohs of the XXVIII–XXX dynasties,<sup>52</sup> Takhos mounted a successful campaign against Persian holdings beyond the borders of Egypt. To finance this enormously expensive campaign into the Levant, Takhos required silver and gold beyond the treasury's store, and as pseudo-Aristotle (*Oec.* 2.2.25, 37) and Polyainos (3.11.5) tell us, he found ways to wring it out of the elite, clergy, foreign merchants (?), and peasants. These taxes and forced loans produced what E. Will (1960: 260) described as a “massive économie temporaire pour la couronne”, redistributing stores of precious metals, most of which were destined to be coined and spent (externally?) on the campaign.<sup>53</sup> That the one coin we can conclusively identify as belonging to this effort, the unique gold daric, was minted as an Athenian imitation with a Greek legend is significant. Since the commanders of his land and naval forces were hired Greeks, as were a significant portion of his troops, their employ would seem to have influenced, if not the design, then at least the script of the legend. Takhos may not have intended to copy directly the Athenian gold issues of c. 405 BC, if in fact he was even aware of their existence.<sup>54</sup> By minting a daric in the general image of a well-known type of coin, rather than faithfully imitating a specific issue, Takhos may have felt

<sup>52</sup> For Egypt's posture against Persia in the fourth century see Bresciani (1985: 523–525) and Ray (1987: 84–85).

<sup>53</sup> Pseudo-Aristotle (2.2.25) is specific about Takhos' preference for uncoined (*asémon*) silver and gold, which likely means that Takhos, or his Greek advisors, were aware of the profit that could be made by coining the raw bullion. Those who were (forcefully?) encouraged to contribute their bullion stores were directed to the nomarchs for repayment, who no doubt would pay back in the coin of the realm, again with the profits derived from coining going to the pharaoh.

<sup>54</sup> The obverses of the 405 BC Athenian gold staters and Takhos' coin are surprisingly similar; both show the early fourth-century wide-open profile-type eye. However, it is unlikely that many of the Athenian gold coins were still in circulation 40 years later, especially in Egypt.

the need to place his name on the gold in Greek in order to insure the legitimacy of the issue among the mercenaries. The existence of the gold coin and the literary references to precious metal stockpiles have encouraged expectations that more coins of Takhos remain to be found, particularly silver issues (Dattari 1905: 109). Might one of Buttrey's types be an issue of Takhos?

The idea is not particularly far-fetched. No other silver issue has been attributed to Takhos, and the pharaoh obviously did not shy away from minting imitations of Athenian coins. Since, in the case of a silver tetradrachm, he would be directly copying a current Athenian issue, it might not have been in his interest to call too much attention to his coins versus those of Athens; thus, the silver would be issued unmarked and as close in style and manufacture to the bona fide Athenian coins as possible. There is little question that for all of Buttrey's styles the Athenian tetradrachm standard of ca. 17.20 g was the intended mark (Table 2; Buttrey 1982: 138); the incidence of die axes at 9:00, also an Athenian trait, stands at 93% for the 26 coins of all styles observed, far higher than the incidence found in the Persian series (45% for the Artaxerxes series; 68% for the Sabakes series).<sup>55</sup> Furthermore, as the incomplete tally of known coins above shows, these do not seem to have been particularly small issues, especially Style B. The large number of high-quality tetradrachms in the series, as well as the additional drachms, indicates that the producer was systematic and wealthy, both signs of a recognized, centralized authority. The fact too that a large number of Buttrey's types (mostly Styles B and M) have been found in hoards in Cilicia and Syria, areas where mercenaries in Takhos' service might have marched and spent their pay, could provide further support for the theory that this Pharaoh issued Buttrey's imitations. There are, of course, several problems with the suggestion.

First, the style of none of Buttrey's types is especially close to that of the gold coin. With the exception of style X, which seems as Flament noted (2001: 49), to have been made with some awareness of

<sup>55</sup> Buttrey (1982:138) noted a similarly high incidence of standardized die axes among the coins from the Karanis hoard. Is the arrow pointing to 7:00 in his publication a misprint for 9:00?

the Athenian *pi*-style, the other three styles appear much closer to Athenian fifth-century, rather than fourth-century types. However, as the stylistic evolution in the Artaxerxes series nearly 20 years after Takhos shows, Egypt might not have been tuned into the developments at Athens at the moment they took place. For the silver coins, Takhos' engravers might have had only older or different models to use than those used for the gold dies. The stylistic arguments, admittedly, do not take us far, nor do Flament's (2001: 46–49) suggested dates for the styles: c. 375 for Styles B and M, 375–350 for Style A, and finally c. 350 for Style X. While the arguments for the various dates rest in some cases on infirm foundations, those for Styles B and M, because coins of this type were found in excavated hoards at Al Mina (*IGCH* 1487, 1488), could be reasonably accurate. This too, however, is far from certain since the excavations at Al Mina leave much to be desired,<sup>56</sup> and, perhaps more to the point, there seems to be a link between the Style B obverse dies and those of the type I Artaxerxes series. Flament's (2001: 46) suggestion for this phenomenon—reuse of the same dies nearly four decades later—sounds like special pleading and highlights the need for a critical and wide-ranging survey of the chronology of this and other (pseudo-) Athenian issues.

There is no evidence at this point that allows for a more accurate dating than c. 400–350 for all four of Buttrey and Flament's styles, nor is there anything that really ties them closely to Takhos. Although we know, thanks to pseudo-Aristotle and Polyainos, that Takhos' financial scheming was unusual and created an environment ripe for the production of indigenous Egyptian coinage, he was not alone in both his need of coins and his efforts to produce them. In fact, any

<sup>56</sup> Elayi and Elayi (1993: 62) suggest a date for the Al Mina hoard, based on associated ceramics, closer to 400 than to 375. However, the methods of excavation used by L. Wooley at Al Mina, while acceptable by the standards of the 1930s, leave much to be desired by today's. J. Waldbaum (1994, 1997) has recently called into question not only Woolley's dating for some levels, but also his conclusions about the site. Therefore we should proceed with caution regarding anything having to do with dates and Al Mina. That Style B and M coins were found in *IGCH* 1259, which Newell (1914) dated to the first quarter of the fourth century might also point to c. 375 for these two styles were it not for the problems associated with the hoard and its dating, which Newell freely admitted.

one of the rich and powerful Delta warlords—not just the pharaoh—could have had both the means and the need to produce Buttrey's types.<sup>57</sup> For the moment the identification of Takhos' silver issues must await further evidence.

The monetary policies of the Persian satraps in Egypt, and Takhos before them, were born of different needs and circumstances which are reflected in the types of coins each produced. Takhos' had an external military campaign to finance, and thus produced large-denomination precious-metal coins. The satraps' focus was tuned presumably more towards local economic and administrative needs, thus the appearance of smaller-denomination silver and bronze issues. The remaining coins to be discussed, mostly silver fractions, were in all probability also intended for local consumption, and so likely reflect an administrative response to local monetary needs. Is it possible, however, to identify the responsible administrations, and can we determine if a monetary policy similar to that of Sabakes was in operation at any time before the Persians returned to power?

The answer is complicated by the great variety of types and symbols appearing on the silver fractions. The Naukratis obol, for example, suggests that the Aegean residents of the emporium had made the collective decision to coin, and to produce coins of low denomination for small (internal?) transactions. Besides the implications that this decision has regarding the definition of the emporium vis-à-vis the (Greek) concept of *polis*,<sup>58</sup> it also has implications concerning internal

<sup>57</sup> The characterization of the Delta *makhimoi* as "warlords" belongs to Ray (1987: 79–80), who also discusses their substantial wealth and need to make payments. Buttrey (1984: 294) suggests that some of his types "are certainly Pharaonic", likely minted in Memphis.

<sup>58</sup> On the question of coinage, Naukratis and its status see especially Bresson (2000: 75–79). Möller (2000: 189) overlooked this coin in her discussion of Naukratis as a *polis* (one of her defining criteria for which is local coinage), since she claims that there was no coinage from Naukratis until after Alexander. It is also worth considering whether the "Egypto-Arabian" obols with the amphora in place of the *theta* might also be an issue of Naukratis, or some other group of Greeks living in Egypt, such as at Tel Daphne. The amphora pictured on the coin, as on the associated countermark, is clearly a Greek type, not eastern. Also see Hill (1917: 9–10) who suggests other, anonymous Athenian imitations might have been minted in an Egyptian "Attic colony".

finance and taxation within the city, and its financial relations with the Egyptian state. Does this unique coin imply that within the territory of the pharaoh other recognized but lesser authorities, such as incorporated trade emporia and local (tribal) strongmen, were granted, or simply assumed the right to coin? If this was the case, then it would be exceedingly difficult to identify not only which Memphite government might have been responsible for the anonymous coins, but also which local authority.

Those coins with distinctively Egyptian legends and symbols—the *uah*-series, the *nefer nub* gold series, and the *nefer neb* fraction—while perhaps not all products of the same administrative oversight, do share a curious trait that goes beyond the presence of the hieroglyphs themselves: the meaning of the glyphs. Their meanings—“lasting”, “good gold”, “all good”—seem focused on the intrinsic value of the coins, either the weight or, more likely, the metallic content. Those minting the coins were concerned with imparting this message in a highly traditional, perhaps even stilted manner; for that reason it is difficult to think of a Persian administrator ordering such legends and coins, yet much easier to imagine Egyptians doing so. One might argue that these symbols, like the Artaxerxes legend, were programmatic: a self-conscious attempt to present purely Egyptian elements in the non-Egyptian medium of coinage, again for sociopolitical reasons. A message like “good gold” on a coin might have seemed quaint to an Egyptian already accustomed to using such instruments, but it may not have been so much what the legend said that was important, but how it was said. During Nektanebo II’s comparatively long reign (361/0–343), the pharaoh pursued a cultural program that seems on many levels to have been an attempt to recapture the glories of the sixth-century Saite dynasty (Ray 1987: 82, 84). It is perhaps within this context that we should expect the syncretism of an increasingly widespread Aegean-derived instrument of exchange (i.e., coinage) mated with the most traditional of the Egyptian scripts. While the small denominations of the *uah* and other unattributed coins could point to an integrated monetary system predating the return of the Persians, the large denomination *nefer nub* gold series, however, would likely not have played much of a role in such a system and was most



probably a special series created to meet certain exigencies, like the gold series of Takhos.<sup>59</sup> Without a more solid date for the *nefer nub* type it is not wise at this point to speculate just what the circumstances were surrounding its creation.

In concluding this review, the picture that emerges of pre-Macedonian coinage in Egypt is surprisingly varied. A number of decades—the exact number is not known—before the Persian satrapal government was re-established in Memphis in the late 340s, coins were produced for the first time in Egypt; but it was not necessarily the central Memphite authority that produced them. Takhos is the first and only (indigenous) pharaoh for whom there is evidence for programmatic minting, a mintage that was instigated for a specific event. At some point, presumably before the Persians (during the reign of Nektanebo II?), attempts were made to accommodate the daily transactional needs of consumers with small change; some of these coinages may well have been local and not sanctioned by the pharaoh. It is only with the return of the Persians that solid evidence for a regularized monetary/coinage system produced by the head of state comes to light.<sup>60</sup> Similar systems were being used elsewhere in Persian domains (e.g., Cilicia and Phoenicia) and it is likely that the system, or at least the thinking behind it, was effectively imported to Egypt along with Persian governance, rather than being a simple modification of an existing Egyptian system. We now can return to the 1989 Syria hoard.

#### B. 1989 Syria hoard

Egypt played an enormous role in the economies of the eastern Mediterranean before, during, and long after the Persian period. Considerable quantities of foodstuffs, manufactured commodities and cash were funneled through the Delta to all other corners of the ancient world. Throughout most of the Persian period, Athens, as a

<sup>59</sup> Melville-Jones (1999), who reviews the evidence for pre-Macedonian gold issues across the Mediterranean, concludes that they were mostly issued in times of dire straits, not as normal currency.

<sup>60</sup> Thus von Reden's assertion (2001: 66) that the Persians in Egypt "had not introduced coinage in the thoroughgoing manner of the Ptolemies" would not be correct.

center of commerce and, perhaps most importantly, a producer of one of the world's first international currencies, could claim equal billing on the trade rosters with Egypt. Thus, it is not surprising that the two largest components of the 1989 Syria hoard are coins from these two centers. There is actually little that can be said about the probable Athenian component of the hoard. The lack of die links is common among the owls of this period (and those before it) even among those found closer to Athens; *pi*-style production, though relatively brief, seems to have been on a massive scale. The cuts and countermarks on the probable Attic owls suggest that most of these coins were not fresh arrivals in the East but had been circulating there for a period of time. Some likely passed through Egypt on their way farther east, but what percentage is impossible to say.

The Egyptian owls are more informative. If large numbers of high-value silver coins were minted in Egypt, like Buttrey/Flament's types and the Persian owls, it is to be expected that many of them would travel beyond the Delta buoyed by the flow of trade and war. A few Egyptian imitative owls, the *uah*-series and perhaps one of Buttrey's types, went west to Sicily, another handful trickled into the Aegean, but by far the greatest number, on evidence of hoard finds, went to Syria. That there was a considerable flow of Aegean silver into Egypt and the Levant is uncontested; once it arrived, some portion of it was unquestionably melted and restruck into local coinages.<sup>61</sup> There is not a great deal of *physical* evidence that eastern silver (or recast Aegean silver), particularly in the form of these Egyptian and Levantine coins, found its way back to the Aegean, which is especially odd considering the tales of Greek mercenaries in Egypt and the East.<sup>62</sup> There is,

<sup>61</sup> Among the melted lumps of silver from an Egyptian hoard that Kroll (2001) discusses, is a partially melted Athenian owl (see also van Alfen 2002: miscellaneous owls no. 16).

<sup>62</sup> The Spartan general Aegisilaos, for example, is said by Plutarch (*Aegisilaos* 40) to have returned home from Egypt after his service under Nektanebo II with an astonishing 230 talents (nearly 7 tons!) of silver, the equivalent of roughly 350,000 Athenian tetradrachms. If such payouts, of which there were likely many, though smaller, were composed even partly of Egyptian-made imitations, then it is quite strange that more imitations have not been found in the Aegean. Kroll (1993: no. 8f) noted one possible Egyptian-made owl in the Athenian Agora excavations; at

however, much more (physical) evidence from coin hoards and single finds for a healthy and reciprocal silver circulation between the Levant, especially the Phoenician states, and Egypt. Port taxes paid by private individuals accounted for some of this interregional circulation (see n. 35 above), but governments also contributed their share, in the form of payments to mercenaries and other expenditures. Direct evidence for government payments might be found in the 1989 Syria hoard.

When a number of die-linked coins are found within the same hoard, the usual assumption is that the coins were minted in the vicinity of where the hoard was buried. For the linked Artaxerxes and Sabakes owls in the 1989 hoard, that clearly was not the case. Both of the Artaxerxes type II coins are linked, as are Sabakes nos. 24b-c and 28b-c. The coincidence of three sets of linked coins in two series found in one hoard over a thousand miles from their mutual place of origin requires explanation; the most logical of which would be that these six coins are the remnants of a payout by the Egyptian satrapal treasury, wherein one would expect to find large numbers of linked issues resting in the coffers together. To these six coins we should add the remaining twelve Artaxerxes and Sabakes issues of the hoard; the evidence of the circulation of these types outside of Egypt is virtually limited to the 1989 hoard,<sup>63</sup> so it would not be stretching the case much to assume that the eighteen coins left Egypt together as one lot. We cannot guess at the circumstances of the payment,<sup>64</sup> or if the coins were turned over to the payee within Egypt or outside. As the coins continued towards

least five more showed up in a hoard found in Piraeus (Oeconomides 1999). Stroud (1974: 169) suggested that a presence of Egyptian imitations circulating in Athens might have been one of the problems Nikophon's law of 375/4 was attempting to address.

<sup>63</sup> One Artaxerxes piece and one Sabakes piece were found with the 1973 Iraq hoard (van Alfen 2000: 11). Their presence in Babylonia is likely due to the sometimes violent and massive redistributions of precious metals in the east following in the wake of Alexander's conquests.

<sup>64</sup> Since the hoard dates to the era of Alexander, the "payment" in question might have been more forced than voluntary. If indeed these coins left Egypt by force, rather than in the context of peaceful trade, then perhaps, as suggested above, the normal circulation of these types would be solely within Egypt.

their final resting place, however, the trajectory of their travel, along with that of the other Aegean and Levantine coins picked up along the way, was ever eastward, from the coast inland. How much farther east these coins might have traveled (in the footsteps of Alexander?) had they not been lost, we can only guess.

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Before he died Price had turned over his notes and photographs of the hoard, along with those from the 1973 Iraq hoard, to John H. Kroll for further study and publication. Kroll, in turn, passed the material on to me. The owls from the 1973 Iraq hoard have been published (van Alfen 2000). Once again, I thank Kroll for the opportunity to work on these collections. Also, I am (again) indebted to Andrew Meadows of the British Museum for providing additional notes and material from Price's work on the hoard, and to Alexandra Halidisz for illustrating the countermarks.

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## TWO UNPUBLISHED HOARDS AND OTHER OWLS FROM EGYPT

PLATES 13–17

PETER G. VAN ALFEN\*

Scattered among various trays of Athenian owls in the American Numismatic Society's Greek cabinet were the remnants of two unpublished hoards that have now been reassembled and are presented here for the first time. The 24 owls comprising the two lots were once part of the E. T. Newell collection, which was bequeathed to the ANS in 1944. The tags associated with the coins are in Newell's fine hand and provide clues to their origins. Those of the first group have written upon them the phrase "ex Nahman's 1923 hoard"; those of the second group have on one side of the tags "from find made in Egypt", while on the other side either the name "Endicott" (along with a price) or the phrase "Egyptian hoard F. M. Endicott 1926" appears. Thus, one group is called here Nahman's hoard, the other Endicott's hoard. As will be seen momentarily, there is little question that the two groups came out of the ground separately; the styles, patinas, and markings make this certain.

The compilers of the *Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards (IGCH)* somehow overlooked the two hoards; none of the *IGCH* listings for Egyptian hoards containing Athenian owls provide information that can be linked to any of these coins. More recently, the editors of *Coin Hoards*, noting a brief remark in *SNG Delepierre*, list one hoard, *CH* VIII.151 "Egypt before 1925", that could be related to Nahman's

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hoard. Like the coins of Nahman's hoard, *SNG Delepierre* nos. 1475, 1478, 1481, and 1482, are mid-fourth-century *pi*-style issues found in Egypt before 1925 that are free of any countermarks or cuts. Caution, however, is in order since there is little beyond coincidence that can tie Nahman's hoard to *CH* VIII.151.

There are other clues that might provide further information on the hoards. Newell spent the winter and spring of 1923/24 in Cairo reviewing and purchasing coins for his collection. From M. Maurice Nahman, an antiquities dealer located on Sharia Kasr en-Nil (Dattari 1905: 103 n.3), Newell purchased at least one hoard, the so-called Kenh Hoard (*IGCH* 1708; Newell 1927: 14). In a short note Newell sent to *The Numismatist* from Cairo, he wrote (1924: 302): "In fact, the unearthing of hoards seems to continue merrily. For even while this little summary was being penned the writer was shown a hoard of some 250 Athenian tetradrachms of the fourth century B.C." Could this be Nahman's hoard?

For the Endicott hoard there are fewer clues. F. Munroe Endicott spent time in Cairo in the early part of the twentieth century as a secretary of the United States Legation to Egypt where he purchased coins from local dealers (Mosser 1941: 2). When he died in 1935 his collection of over a thousand Greek and Roman coins was given to the ANS by his heirs. A selection of these coins, including two Athenian owls (not related to the hoard), was published a number of years later by S. Mosser (1941). Endicott kept careful notes on his collection in an account book that was also donated to the ANS at the same time as the coins. Unfortunately, at some point in the nearly 70 years that have passed since the donation, this account book has been misplaced and cannot be found. Should the book be located, however, we can be almost certain that within it lies information on the purchase of the hoard and how it came into Newell's possession.

### THE CATALOGUE

The following catalogue lists the coins of the two groups with their accession numbers, weights, and die axes; the illustrations of the countermarks noted can be found in Figure 1.<sup>1</sup> Also, since this opportunity

<sup>1</sup> This figure is reprinted from the preceding article in this journal (van Alfen 2002); thus, not all of the countermarks found in the figure are found on the coins

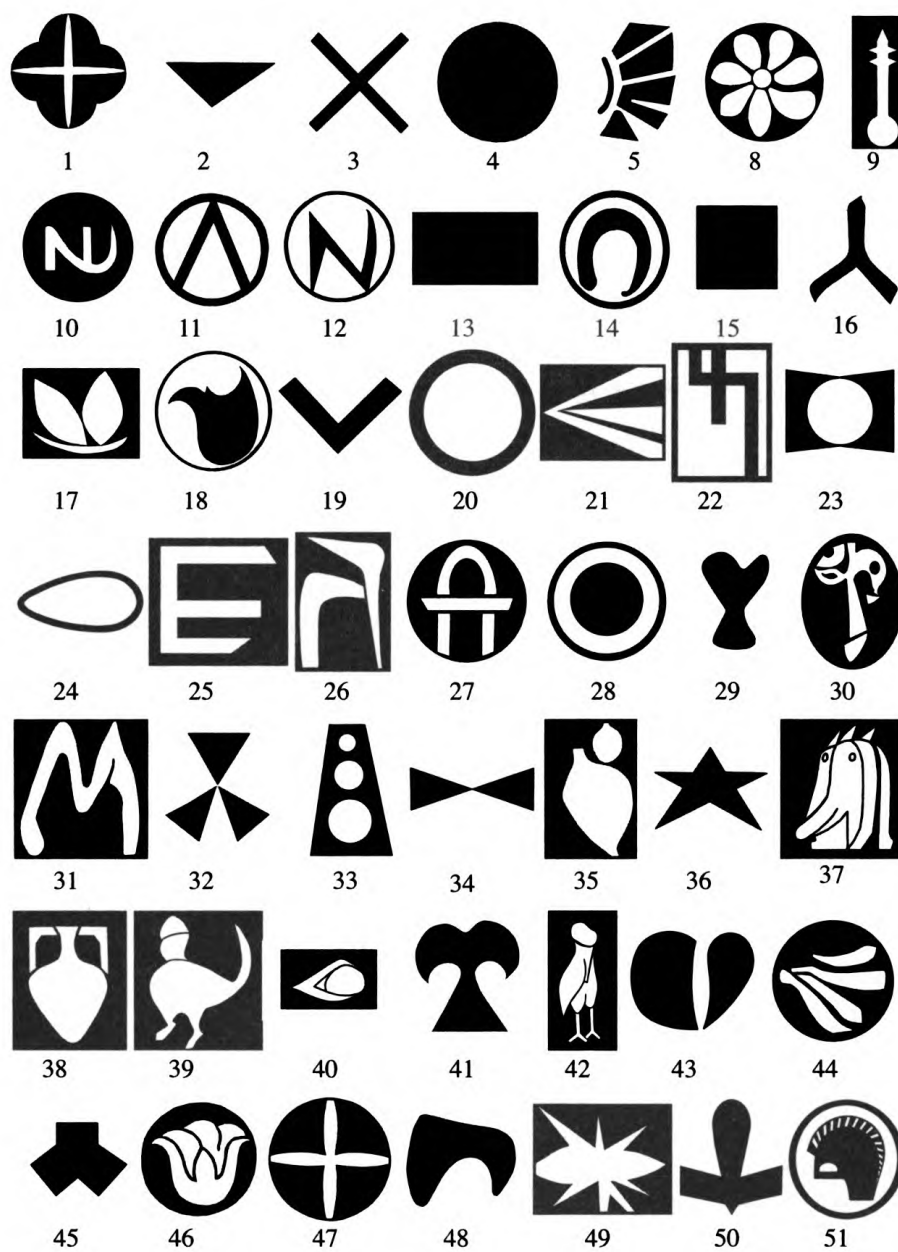


FIGURE 1. Table of countermarks.

has presented itself, an additional 34 (mostly) unpublished owls that were either produced or circulated in Egypt are also listed below; these coins are part of the ANS collection but are not part of either Nahman's or Endicott's hoards. A general discussion follows.

### NAHMAN'S HOARD

What is most striking about this group of nine owls is the fact that none of them bear the countermarks or cuts so commonly found on coins coming out of Egypt. But without an idea of the composition of the hoard, we have no way of ascertaining how meaningful this observation is; Nahman or Newell might have intentionally picked unmarked coins out of the lot. Stylistically the coins are mixed. Two of the coins, nos. 3 and 4, are unquestionably imitative and can be attributed to Flament's Style A;<sup>2</sup> no. 9 have a suspicious appearance that might indicate an imitative origin. No. 8 is the only *pi*-style owl in the group; its presence brings the *terminus post quem* for the hoard down to the middle of the fourth century.<sup>3</sup> At the other end of the temporal spectrum lies no. 1, a later fifth-century issue. The remaining owls, nos. 2, 6, and 7 are of the earliest profile-eye series that came out of Athens.<sup>4</sup>

1. ANS 1944.100.24201; 17.15 g; 9:00
2. ANS 1944.100.24224; 17.11 g; 9:00
3. ANS 1944.100.24226; 17.13 g; 9:00
4. ANS 1944.100.24227; 16.87 g; 9:00
5. ANS 1944.100.24228; 17.17 g; 9:00

presented in this study. The figure is reused in the hopes of making cross-checking and reference easier.

<sup>2</sup> Flament (2001) identified a further sub-style, Style A, of those Egyptian imitative owl styles, Styles B, M, X, initially identified by T. V. Buttrey (1982). For further comments on this group, see van Alfen (2002: 16–20).

<sup>3</sup> The owl corresponds to a Bingen (1973) *pi*-style I. Kroll (1993: 8) argues that the *pi*-style coinage began c. 350 BC.

<sup>4</sup> Kroll (1993: 8) suggested a date of c. 390–380 for this pre-*pi*-style profile-eye series. More recently, however, he has downdated the series to end shortly before the beginning of the *pi*-style coins c. 350 (2001: 10 n.13).

6. ANS 1944.100.24229; 17.15 g; 9:00
7. ANS 1944.100.24230; 17.17 g; 9:00
8. ANS 1944.100.24240; 17.18 g; 9:00
9. ANS 1944.100.83591; 17.16 g; 9:00

## ENDICOTT'S HOARD

In brutal contrast to the coins of Nahman's hoard, those of this group are among some of the most heavily countermarked that have come from Egypt. But again, without knowing the details, we cannot be sure if this is representative of the rest of the coins of the hoard, if in fact there were any. All fifteen are mid-fourth-century *pi*-style owls, primarily of Bingen's (1973) types IV or V; none of the coins appear to be imitative. No. 5 was struck on an unusual type of oval flan.<sup>5</sup>

1. ANS 1944.100.24324; 17.17 g; 8:00; obv. ctmk 9.
2. ANS 1944.100.24325; 17.23 g; 10:00; obv. ctmks 1 and 9; rev. ctmk 1 (x 2).
3. ANS 1944.100.24326; 17.12 g; 9:00; obv. ctmks 1 (x 3), 4, and 9; rev. ctmk 1 (x 3).
4. ANS 1944.100.24327; 17.20 g; 9:00; obv. ctmks 1 and 37; rev. ctmk 1.
5. ANS 1944.100.24328; 17.21 g; 9:00; obv. ctmk 38; rev. ctmk 1 (x 4).
6. ANS 1944.100.24329; 17.14 g; 9:00; obv. ctmks 37, 39, 40; rev. ctmk 1 (x 5).
7. ANS 1944.100.24330; 17.17 g; 8:00; obv. ctmk 9; rev. ctmks 1 and 4.
8. ANS 1944.100.24331; 17.15 g; 9:00; obv. ctmk 37; rev. ctmk 41.
9. ANS 1944.100.24332; 17.16 g; 9:00; obv. ctmks 42 and 43; rev. ctmks 1 (x 3), 29 and 38.
10. ANS 1944.100.24333; 17.24 g; 8:00; obv. ctmks 4 and 33; rev. ctmk 1.
11. ANS 1944.100.24334; 17.08 g; 8:00; obv. ctmks 1 (x 2), 3, 9, 28; rev. ctmks 1 (x 4) and 28.
12. ANS 1944.100.24335; 17.14 g; 9:00; obv. ctmks 34 and 44; rev. ctmks 41 and 45.

<sup>5</sup> For comments on this type of flan see van Alfen (2002: 9).



The attribution of the following three coins to Endicott's hoard is insecure. F. M. Endicott gave no. 13 to the ANS in 1923. Its patina, style, and countermarks are consistent with the twelve coins listed above; therefore it is probable that the coin came from the same hoard. No. 14 is problematic. While the countermarks fit with the other coins here, its frontal-eye style does not. Hoards with both types of coins, frontal eye and profile eye, are of course common enough. The tag with the coin says only "found in Egypt" with no indication that Endicott gave it. The label on the box ("Egyptian Hd"), however, is the same as that on the boxes of the twelve above. Finally, Endicott gave no. 15 to Newell, and its countermark and style suggest that it could be part of the hoard, although the tag, which is arranged differently than the others, only denotes an Egyptian provenance.

- 13. ANS 1923.165.1; 17.24 g; 8:00; obv. ctmk no. 9; rev. ctmk no. 19.
- 14. ANS 1944.100.24222; 16.59 g; 9:00; obv. ctmk 49(?); rev. ctmk nos. 8 and 46.
- 15. ANS 1944.100.24321; 17.21 g; 9:00; obv. ctmk no. 9; rev. ctmk no. 3.

#### TELL EL-MASKHOUTA (IGCH 1649)

Of the six to ten thousand owls found in this famed hoard, the ANS received only a small number, but these have not been published as a group before. The coins are consistent with those published by Robinson (1947) and Naster (1948),<sup>6</sup> in so far as they are late-fifth-century, frontal-eye owls. In addition to *bona fide* Athenian owls, the hoard produced a great number of imitative and plated varieties; nos. 6 and 7 are plated, nos. 8 and 9 are imitative.<sup>7</sup> The dies of no. 6 were of high quality and, as far as the preservation of the coin shows, indistinguishable from those of Athens. Were it not for the bronze disease breaking through the silver plating from the core, this coin would

<sup>6</sup> For more recent comments and bibliography on this hoard see Kroll (2001: 11 n.14).

<sup>7</sup> No. 9, in fact, is a Philisto-Arabian issue from the Burton Berry collection; this coin was first published in *SNG BYB* no. 701.

certainly pass as an authentic Athenian issue today, and no doubt in antiquity as well. The situation with no. 7, however, is quite different since the large, awkward profile eye of the obverse unquestionably betrays a non-Athenian product.

1. ANS 1949.128.1; 17.18 g; 4:00.
2. ANS 1949.128.2; 17.16 g; 9:00.
3. ANS 1949.128.3; 16.79 g; 9:00; obv. graffito "X"; cut in edge (x 2).
4. ANS 1949.128.4; 17.17 g; 9:00; obv. ctmk 20.
5. ANS 1949.128.5; 17.19 g; 10:00.
6. ANS 1949.103.5; 15.03 g; 1:00 (plated).
7. ANS 1951.17.4; 16.53 g; 9:00 (plated); obv. ctmk 18(?).
8. ANS 1951.17.2; 3.88 g; 9:00.
9. ANS 1960.176.14; 17.19 g; 12:00 (= *SNG BYB* no. 701; *SNG ANS* 6 no. 1).

#### MISCELLANEOUS OWLS

The remaining group consists of coins that are either known to have an Egyptian provenance (nos. 2, 4, 6, 9–10) because it is so stated on their tags, or very likely did because the countermarks and/or patterns of cuts and countermarking are consistent with other coins known to have come out of Egypt (nos. 1, 3, 5, 7–8, 11–25). Nos. 2 (which has an imitative character reminiscent of one of Buttrey types<sup>8</sup>), 13, and 18 are of frontal-eye fifth-century type, the rest are *pi*-style owls. No. 12, like no. 2, appears to be an imitation. The unusually high weight of no. 16 is because the coin was partially melted and fused to what appears to be another coin.<sup>9</sup>

1. ANS 0000.999.10176; 17.33 g; 9:00; obv. ctmk 1.
2. ANS 0000.999.53378; 16.12 g; 9:00; obv. ctmk (?).
3. ANS 1941.131.552; 17.07 g; 9:00; obv. ctmk 45; rev. ctmk 1.
4. ANS 1944.100.24242; 14.60 g; 9:00; obv. ctmk 49 (?); rev. ctmks 9 (?), 46 and (?).

<sup>8</sup> See note no. 1 above.

<sup>9</sup> Kroll (2001) notes a similar phenomenon with an owl from an Egyptian hoard.

5. ANS 1944.100.24315; 17.05 g; 9:00; obv. ctmk 49; rev. ctmk 50.
6. ANS 1944.100.24316; 17.17 g; 9:00; obv. ctmk 47.
7. ANS 1944.100.24317; 17.19 g; 9:00; rev. ctmk 1
8. ANS 1944.100.24318; 17.17 g; 8:00; obv. ctmk 29 (?).
9. ANS 1944.100.24319; 17.13 g; 9:00; obv. ctmk 48; rev. ctmk 1 (x 2).
10. ANS 1944.100.24320; 17.17 g; 9:00; obv. ctmk 1 (x 3); rev. ctmk 1 (x 3).
11. ANS 1944.100.24398; 16.94 g; 9:00; obv. ctmks 14 (?) and 29; rev. ctmk 14 (?).
12. ANS 1944.100.24488; 17.01 g; 9:00; obv. ctmk 32.
13. ANS 1953.171.222; 16.98 g; 9:00; obv. ctmk (?); rev. 2 cuts; ctmk (?).
14. ANS 1953.171.234; 17.17 g; 9:00; obv. ctmk 9; rev. ctmk no. 1.
15. ANS 1953.171.236; 17.24 g; 9:00; obv. ctmk 1; rev. ctmks 15 and 33.
16. ANS 1953.171.237; 18.25 g; obv. ctmk 8.
17. ANS 1955.163.1; 16.55 g; 9:00; obv. cut; ctmks 4 and (? x 2); rev. cut; ctmks 1 and 50.
18. ANS 1957.172.1122; 16.84 g; 6:00; obv. ctmks (?) and 3.
19. ANS 1957.172.1132; 16.91 g; 9:00; obv. cut; ctmk 20.
20. ANS 1968.34.65; 17.18 g; 9:00; obv. ctmk 28; rev. ctmk 4 (= *SNG BYB* no. 695).
21. ANS 1974.26.290; 17.21 g; 9:00; obv. ctmk 9; rev. ctmk 3.

The last four *pi*-style owls listed below (nos. 22–25) were part of the same donation to the ANS in 1954. Two of the coins (nos. 24 and 25) bear countermarks similar to those found on other owls known or presumed to have circulated in Egypt. Because all four coins display an identical (and unusual) patina, are similarly underweight, and are part of the same donation, it is very likely that these coins came from one hoard, perhaps found in Egypt. Which hoard that might be, however, is unknown; furthermore, no suggestion can be made since no other information concerning these coins is available.

22. ANS 1954.162.5; 16.42 g; 9:00.
23. ANS 1954.162.6; 16.80 g; 9:00.
24. ANS 1954.162.7; 16.77 g; 9:00; obv. ctmks 14, 47, and (?).
25. ANS 1954.162.8; 16.60 g; 9:00; obv. ctmk 20.

## DISCUSSION

With the exception of the coins from the well-published Tell el-Maskhouta hoard, little is known about the various groups of owls listed above save that they were found (or likely found) in Egypt. Thus, the observations one can make about the coins are fairly limited. Of the 58 tetradrachms presented in this study, 41 (or 71%) have weights that are well above 17.00 g; many are quite close to c. 17.20 g, the Athenian tetradrachm standard. In light of other owls that have come from Egypt, such as the indigenous Sabakes series (van Alfen 2002: 27–31, table 2), the consistency in weight found here among these various unrelated groups is quite remarkable; the high quality of these coins is also reflected in the frequency of the 9:00 die axis. Thus, except for the eight (?) imitations found in this collection of 58 coins, we can be reasonably certain that the rest were products of Athens that had found their way to Egypt some time in the fourth century. Where there is much more information to be gleaned, however, is from the countermarks that many of these coins bear.

Over the course of time, from the sixth century BC on, the use and function of countermarks presumably underwent a gradual development: “[i]t is the common view that the early countermarks were private marks of ownership or guarantees of worth, but that during the hellenistic period countermarking became a monopoly of civic or royal authority” (Howgego 1985: 1; cf. Le Rider 1975). Marking coins with countermarks, cuts, and graffiti was an enormously widespread practice in the Levant and Egypt during the Persian period (sixth to fourth centuries BC; Elayi and Lemaire 1998), arguably more so than in the Aegean. Even so, there has been little evidence to suggest that any Egyptian or Levantine marks were applied by civic or other state authorities rather than private merchants, bankers, or the like. However, two countermarks (Figure 1 nos. 9 and 38) and two related type-elements appearing on Egyptian-made coins could point to some official (i.e., non-private) use of countermarks in Egypt (van Alfen 2002). A closer look at the behavior of countermarking on coins with a (presumed) Egyptian provenance may provide additional corroboration.

One of the most ubiquitous countermarks found on the owls is the so-called *quatrefoil* (Figure 1 no. 1) that appears almost exclusively on coins with an Egyptian provenance pre-dating the Ptolemies.<sup>10</sup> To date I have located 66 individual occurrences of this mark appearing on 42 different coins; in this study alone of 58 owls, the mark appears 41 times on 20 different coins. By way of comparison, the next most frequently appearing countermark among these 58 owls is the *nefer* symbol (Figure 1 no. 9), which appears seven times on seven different coins. There is little doubt that the quatrefoil was in fourth-century Egypt the most prevalent countermark.

Aside from the considerable number of occurrences, the manner in which the quatrefoil appears on coins is notably different from other countermarks: 1) multiple individual quatrefoil marks appear on the same coin, sometimes as many as five per side;<sup>11</sup> 2) quatrefoil marks “cancel”<sup>12</sup> other quatrefoil marks, but not other types of countermarks (other non-quatrefoil marks rarely cancel one another but instead are placed side by side);<sup>13</sup> 3) other types of marks cancel quatrefoil marks.<sup>14</sup>

There are two primary implications to be derived from these observations: 1) the quatrefoil marks were applied to the coins before any other marks, and 2) their semiotic value was low, so they were frequently canceled.<sup>15</sup> Also, the presumed common practice of applying

<sup>10</sup> While there is continuity from a number of the countermarks found here to those that appear on the coins of Ptolemy I, the quatrefoil virtually disappears from sight. Only one coin of Ptolemy I in the ANS's extensive collection of this ruler's issues bears this countermark (1974.26.5401).

<sup>11</sup> E.g. Endicott's hoard no. 6.

<sup>12</sup> I have adopted this term, for lack of a better one, to describe the practice of overstriking one counterstamp with another.

<sup>13</sup> Examples of the quatrefoil canceling another quatrefoil: Endicott's hoards nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, 9, 11 and Miscellaneous no. 9. Examples of side-by-side placement of non-quatrefoil countermarks: Endicott's hoard nos. 3, 6, 9, 11, 12, 14; Miscellaneous nos. 4, 11, 15, 24.

<sup>14</sup> E.g. Endicott's hoard nos. 2, 4, 11; Miscellaneous no. 10.

<sup>15</sup> On coins with multiple non-quatrefoil countermarks, although they might be closely packed, rarely do the countermarks actually touch or cancel one another. The desire to preserve the legibility of the previous marks indicates that they continued to serve some purpose, perhaps to establish some type of pedigree for the coin.

one countermark per coin per handling would imply that those owls with more than one quatrefoil mark had passed through the same hands or process more than once. If the function of these marks was to prove ownership or guarantee the metal or weight of the coin, there was little need to reapply successively the same mark every time the coin reappeared for inspection; a single mark would suffice to convey the message. The behavioral characteristics of the quatrefoil, however, point to a process rather mechanical in its application, suggestive of an almost mindless administrative repetitiveness. Because the quatrefoil appears on the coins chronologically before other countermarks, the implication then is that the mark was applied before the coins reached a wider (public) circulation. The manner of application and the possibility of (temporarily) restricted circulation all suggest that the mark may have served some administrative purpose, perhaps for internal accounting by an organization like the state treasury. Since the marks had no value or understood meaning outside of this context, subsequent users felt no need to preserve them.

Finally, we turn to the dates of Nahman's and Endicott's hoards. As noted above, the presence of the *pi*-style owl in Nahman's hoard brings the date of burial for the hoard down to the middle of the fourth century, but because of the greater number of early fourth-century types, the date is probably not much after c. 350. By contrast, Endicott's hoard is composed almost entirely of *pi*-style issues, thus the date for the hoard is likely closer to the end of the century. It is worth noting that other hoards found in Egypt, like the Tell el-Athrib (*IGCH* 1663) and Memphis hoards (*IGCH* 1660), which like Endicott's hoard are composed of a high proportion of *pi*-style owls, also feature coins that are heavily countermarked. The coincidence of the return of Persian rule to Egypt (in 343 BC) and the apparent greater frequency of countermarking after 350, especially with the quatrefoil mark, is suggestive of further Persian administrative oversight in the monetary economy in Egypt after c. 340.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> See van Alfen (2002) for further discussion of Persian monetary administration in Egypt.

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## TWO SELEUCID NOTES

PLATES 18–19    MARTIN HUTH, D. T. POTTS, AND OLIVER D. HOOVER

This pair of short articles is presented using the same approach as in previous issues of this journal. The “notes” format provides an opportunity for articles that are too short for single submissions to be published together. More importantly, it is a method to announce new discoveries in a single specialized field. It is the hope of the present authors that it will continue to be a useful vehicle for scholars of Seleucid numismatics.

### I. ANTIOCHUS IN ARABIA

MARTIN HUTH\* AND D. T. POTTS\*\*

The purpose of this paper is twofold: firstly, to look at a small group of hitherto unattributed tetradrachms in the name of Antiochus III (223–187 BC) and to examine a possible Arabian context for this issue, and secondly, to reconsider the distribution of some of the so-called Arabian Alexanders in relation to Antiochus’ visit to Gerrha in 205 BC, the only account of which is preserved by Polybius (13.9.2–5).

Three unattributed tetradrachms in the name of Antiochus III which have appeared on the market in the course of the last fifteen years may be described as follows:

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*Obv.*: Diademed head of Antiochus with slightly bulging eyes to r. within dotted border.

*Rev.*: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ANTIOXOY; Apollo holding bow and arrow, seated to l. on omphalos; on l., tripod; in exergue, South Arabian letter *ʔ*: 8 [turned 90 degrees]

16.94, 16.67 g (Plate 18 nos. 1 and 2 (Houghton coll., AHNS 137)) and 16.46 g (Plate 18 no. 3; Peus 2001: no. 279<sup>1</sup>). The coins are all from a single obverse die and three different reverse dies. The die-axis throughout is ↑. No findspots have been recorded.

The style of these coins is irregular in several ways: both the almost frontal eye of the obverse portrait and the coarse reverse inscription—which, in the case of no. 3, reveals the apparent use of a drill in executing the corners of the letters—are highly unusual and can hardly be considered a regular product of an established Seleucid mint. Also, the last letter on all three specimens conspicuously slips below the ground line. The most astounding feature, however, is the use of a South Arabian letter in the exergue, which throughout Antiochus' coinage—and indeed the whole Seleucid series—remains empty, apart from some rare instances in which a moneyer's or magistrate's Greek monogram is inserted. The letter in question is the letter *ʔ* (8) from the South Arabian Musnad alphabet familiar from monumental inscriptions. While its isolated use on coins is otherwise unattested,<sup>2</sup> it occurs on the well-known issues of 'byl' (Abyatha<sup>3</sup>), a local ruler of northeastern Arabia who is thought to have ruled sometime between 230 and 220 BC,<sup>4</sup> and of *hrlʔ* (Harithat), king of Hagar (c. 230 BC).<sup>5</sup> The letter on the Antiochus III type is turned 90° in order to fit the exergue. The prominent placing of an Arabian letter rather than a

<sup>1</sup> A first tentative connection with the *Anabasis* is proposed in the Peus catalogue (Peus 2001: no. 279).

<sup>2</sup> The authors are aware, however, of a single South Arabian (probably Qatabanian) tetradrachm in imitation of Athens which has the letter *ʔ* countermarked on the obverse.

<sup>3</sup> For the name, see Müller (1979).

<sup>4</sup> Callot (1990: 232) convincingly revises earlier dating attempts made by Mørkholm and Robin.

<sup>5</sup> Arnold-Biucchi (1991: 106, pl. 19 no. 10); for the dating, Callot (1990: 232).

Greek monogram or letter on these coins must be seen as some mark of origin. In view of the fact that no regular (let alone “official”) use of the South Arabian alphabet is attested outside the Arabian peninsula in any of the South Arabian or North Arabian languages employing that script, it may be concluded with a fair degree of certainty that these coins originated in Arabia.

When considering a date for this issue of Arabian imitations, a *terminus post quem* is readily provided by their Seleucid prototype: an extensive series of tetradrachms from the mint of Antioch showing both the diadem, arranged with one end falling over the shoulder and the other waving behind the head, and a tripod symbol on the reverse (cf. Le Rider 1999: pl. 14 nos. 7–12). No other instance of this combination of diadem arrangement and tripod is known. They form part of Le Rider’s series III–IV, recently dated by both Le Rider and Boehringer to just before 200 BC, based on evidence from the Oylum Höyüğü hoard (Le Rider 1999: 157f.). Using the end of Antiochus’ reign as a likely *terminus ante quem*, an approximate dating of c. 200–187 BC emerges for the Arabian imitations.

When looking for comparative material from the Arabian peninsula, a series of Seleucid-inspired obols from northeastern Arabia comes to mind. These bear a hellenized portrait on the obverse and follow the Alexander prototype (seated figure of Zeus, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ to r.) on the reverse. These have been published by Potts as classes XI, XIII, and XIV (Potts 1991, 1994). The diademed portrait shown in Plate 18 no. 4<sup>6</sup> comes fairly close to that of Antiochus III. What separates these obols from our tetradrachms is the epigraphic association of the former with a group of “Arabian Alexanders” with which they share the use of either the letter *shin* (𐩣) or the full word *Šms* (𐩣𐩪𐩬). Callot (1990) has attributed these *Šms/shin* tetradrachms to the island Failaka, ancient Ikaros (horizontal *shin*), and to Qala’at al-Bahrain (vertical *shin* and *Šms*), while others have identified Gerrha<sup>7</sup> as the minting-place for

<sup>6</sup> Arnold-Biucchi (1991: 103, pl. 18 no. 4) (from al-Dur, UAE) = Potts (1994: no. 11); with clear Greek reverse inscription see Potts (1994: nos. 9–11).

<sup>7</sup> For the different theories, cf. Arnold-Biucchi (1991: 113). The “Seleucid-inspired” obols are only known with either *Šms* or vertical *shin* and should therefore—if one follows Callot’s attribution—be attributed to Qala’at al-Bahrain.

the whole series. What concerns us here, however, is their date and relative chronology. The *Šms/shin* tetradrachms were issued until about 210 BC<sup>8</sup>. It may be safely assumed both for typological and stylistic reasons that the series with either *Šms* or *shin* bearing the head of Heracles pre-date those with a Seleucid head. The resemblance of the obverse portrait on some of the obols to that of Antiochus III and a likely date after 210 BC indicate that these obols were in fact first minted during the reign of this king. This in turn leads to the realization that they must be contemporary with our tetradrachms marked with the letter *l* (c. 200–187 BC), but not necessarily minted in the same location. Both issues thus belong to a new class of Arabian coinage in imitation of Antiochus III that appears to mark the end of the various types of “Arabian Alexanders” (*Šms/shin*, Abyatha; Hari-that; Abi’el).

Could this be corroborated by historic evidence (i.e. a specific event, most likely during Antiochos’ lifetime) that would have resulted in the emission, in Arabia, of coins bearing the portrait of that king? Antiochus’ eastern campaign of 211–205 BC, the famous *Anabasis*, immediately comes to mind, in which the king, coming from Antiochia in Persis, visited the mercantile town of Gerrha in northeastern Arabia in 205 BC. Gerrha, the location of which still remains somewhat disputed—although a location at Thaj about 90 km northwest of modern Dhahran appears to be very likely (Potts 1990: 85–90)—derived its wealth from its occupation of a crossing point of the trade routes to and from South Arabia and between India, Babylonia and Nabataea. It also must have been an important trading-post for the Iranian mainland on the opposite side of the Gulf.

According to the account given by Polybius (13.9.2–5), Antiochus, while returning from the East, visited the East Arabian mainland. The account begins by describing the country: “Labae, like Sabae, is a city of Chattenia, which is a territory of the Gerraei.... In other respects, Chattenia is a rugged country, but the wealth of the Gerraei who inhabit it has adorned it with villages and towers. It lies along the Arabian Sea.... The Gerrhaeans begged the king not to abolish the gifts

<sup>8</sup> A terminus proposed by Callot (1990: 232) for the horizontal *shin* tetradrachms, which he places last within the *Šms/shin* series in imitation of Alexander..

the gods had bestowed on them, perpetual peace and freedom. The king, when the letter had been interpreted to him, said that he granted their request... When their freedom had been established, the Gerrhaeans passed a decree honouring Antiochus with the a gift of 500 talents of silver, 1000 talents of frankincense and 200 talents of stacte spices." According to Polybius, "He then sailed to the island of Tylos (i.e., Bahrain), and thence to Seleucia."

The true motives for Antiochus' expedition which led neither to the conquest nor to the destruction of Gerrha, have been the subject of much discussion. It is most likely that declining Seleucid control during Seleucus II's reign over the caravan routes coming from the south and the interest of local rulers in controlling the routes leading to Babylonia and, more importantly, to Nabataea, were a matter of concern for Antiochus (Potts 1990: 92–98). Therefore, while re-establishing a firm Seleucid grip on the trade routes exiting from northeastern Arabia was a legitimate objective, neither cutting these roads nor disabling the Gerrhaeans from continuing their mercantile role vis-à-vis the routes from South Arabia and India would have been in his interest. What has been termed "an imposing military demonstration aimed at frightening the Gerrhaeans and make them increase the quantity of merchandise they send to Seleucia, at the expense probably of the Nabataeans and the Ptolemies" (Rostovtseff 1953: 458) would seem to have been the most suitable means to achieve these goals. In this context, the issuance, in Arabia, of coins bearing the effigy and—in the case of the tetradrachms which we may now tentatively attribute to Gerrha—the name of Antiochus underlines the political and economic impact the king's passage through the region must have had on its inhabitants. It also sheds a revealing light on the true character of the agreement reached with the Gerrhaeans and, perhaps, other northeastern Arabian rulers.

One of the present authors (Potts) has previously suggested that, in light of the many coin issues which we can now assign to northeastern Arabia, there is a good possibility that the 500 talents of silver—the equivalent of 750,000 tetradrachms—given to Antiochus by the Gerrhaeans were presented in *coin*, not in bullion (Potts 1990: 98, 1991: 108). In order to explore this possibility it is worthwhile to consider the occurrence of some of the "Arabian Alexanders" in hoards which were buried far away from their region of issuance. The

geographical distribution of Abyatha's coinage is striking: apart from five coins of unknown provenance,<sup>9</sup> we are left with the occurrence of two tetradrachms in the Mektipini hoard (*IGCH* 1410), thought to have been deposited by c. 190 BC, one tetradrachm in Gordion V (*IGCH* 1405), thought to have been deposited c. 205 BC, one tetradrachm of unspecified Syrian provenance (Plate 18 no. 5, Huth coll.), and two tetradrachms and six drachms in the Failaka hoard of 1961, thought to have been deposited c. 210–200 BC (Mørkholm 1980: 220, 231, figs. 2.9–16). To this can be added another single drachm and hemidrachm from the 1958–1959 excavations in Failaka (Mørkholm 1960: 207, fig. 5.1 [drachm], 1980: fig. 4.2 [hemidrachm]). Other Arabian findspots with undated contexts are Thaj/Gerrha (Arnold-Biucchi 1991: pl. 19 no. 8 [tetradrachm ex Morris coll.]), Jebel Kenzan (Potts 1991: no. 19 [hemidrachm], 1994: nos. 1 [drachm] and 2–3 [obols]), Hofuf (Potts 1994: no. 4 [obol]), and Mleiha (Potts 1994: no. 5 [obol]). Why should coins from eastern Arabia, other examples of which only circulated inside the coastal zone extending from Failaka in the north, through the Eastern Province and Bahrain, to al-Dur and Mleiha in the United Arab Emirates, turn up in hoards found in Phrygia and Syria? Mørkholm once wrote concerning the Abyatha and other issues attributed to eastern Arabia, that “the finds of these East Arabian Alexander-imitations on Failaka, in Susa, northern Syria and Gordion in central Asia Minor show the routes by which trade was conducted” (Mørkholm 1973: 201), but we find this an unsatisfying statement. Surely if the East Arabian issues were in mercantile circulation they might be expected to appear in the Nabataean area, in Babylonia, in India, in Iran, and more abundantly in South and Central Arabia than seems to be the case.<sup>10</sup>

The answer to this small conundrum lies, we suggest, in the *Anabasis* of Antiochus III. In recent years a number of scholars have

<sup>9</sup> Head (1889: 303; Aberdeen); Arnold-Biucchi (1991: pl. 19 nos. 7, 9; ANS); Lanz auction 1987, no. 399 (all tetradrachms); and a drachm (Huth coll.)

<sup>10</sup> To date, we know of only a few very stylized examples of northeast Arabian coinage from Qaryat al-Faw in south-central Saudi-Arabia and one example of southeast Arabian coinage of unknown provenance, but probably from a site in South Arabia, in the National Museum in Aden (Potts 1991: 49, 1994: 68).

commented on the motives behind Antiochus' visit to eastern Arabia, the implications of his stop at Tylos and the possibility of a further halt at Failaka en route to Seleucia.<sup>11</sup> To our knowledge, however, no one has remarked on the fact that, after leaving Seleucia, Antiochus in 204 BC wintered in northern Syria before heading for Asia Minor. And yet, there can be no doubt that between the Arabian visit of 205 and Antiochus' movement into Coele-Syria at the onset of the Fifth Syrian War in 202 BC, it was the reconquest of Asia Minor which preoccupied the king. Therefore, unlike Mørkholm, we believe that the appearance of Abyatha's coinage in Phrygia and Syria does not reflect the general trends of foreign trade at the end of the third century but rather the movement of Antiochus and his troops into Asia Minor in the aftermath of his Arabian expedition. Furthermore, apart from suggesting that the Abyatha issues reached Phrygia in 204 BC through the agency of Antiochus III and his army, the Abyatha tetradrachms and drachms found in the Failaka hoard of 1961—which Mørkholm felt were buried c. 210–200 BC—must have reached the island immediately following Antiochus' visit to departure from mainland Arabia and his visit to Tylos. They thus offer circumstantial evidence in support of the thesis that the Seleucid king halted at Ikaros *en route* from Tylos to Seleucia. Also, an additional twelve coins of the horizontal *shin* type from the Failaka hoard of 1960 (Mørkholm 1960: figs. 2–13) are likely to have arrived at the island at the same time as the Abyatha coins, in the possession of Antiochus III and his men. Finally, six more coins of the same type, three from Gordion (*IGCH* 1405 and 1406) and three discovered in 1972 at an unknown location in Syria (*Coin Hoards* 2[1976]: 81), in all probability, reached these distant areas as part of the same historical context. In the case of the Gordion coins, one would assume that this occurred at the time of Antiochus' arrival in Asia Minor or immediately after; in the case of the three coins from Syria, thought to have been deposited c. 190 BC, one might suggest that this was a result of Antiochus' move into Coele-Syria in 202 BC and his subsequent campaigning in Syria during the 190s (Ma 1999: 73; Bar-Kochva 1976: 146–157).

<sup>11</sup> For much of the bibliography, see Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993: 200).



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## II. LAODICE IV ON THE BRONZE COINAGES OF SELEUCUS IV AND ANTIOCHUS IV

OLIVER D. HOOVER\*

During the reign of Seleucus IV a series of bronze coins (Plate 18 no. 6) was issued from an uncertain central Seleucid mint (possibly Antioch-on-the-Orontes), with the following types (*SNG Spaer* 914-915; *CSE* 90):

*Obv.*: Veiled female bust r.; control mark to l.; dotted border.

*Rev.*: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ. Elephant's head l.; control mark to l.; dotted border.

These types continued to be employed when Antiochus IV assumed power in 175 BC and were struck at the Syrian capital, Antioch-on-the-Orontes (Plate 18 no. 7; cf. *SNG Spaer* 963-972; *CSE* 112-114), and the important port cities of Seleucia-in-Pieria (Plate 18 no. 8; *SNG Spaer* 1017-1040) and Ake-Ptolemaïs (Plate 18 no. 9; *SNG Spaer* 1102-1107). The main types remained entirely unchanged although symbols were now added on the reverse to indicate the originating mints. A tripod to the right of the elephant's head represented Antioch with its famous cult of Apollo while a ship's prow in the same

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location stood for Seleucia and probably Ake.<sup>12</sup> The inscription was also changed to **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ** to reflect the authority of the new king.

While in the past numismatists have exerted themselves to properly identify the several mints responsible for the issue of these series (Mørkholm 1965-66: 9-10), very little serious attempt has been made to discover the identity of the “veiled female bust” that is used for the obverse type. Thus, the type has continued to be described in this exceedingly vague manner, even in the most recently published catalogs, on the grounds that it is better to err on the side of caution. Because the woman does not appear with any attributes other than her veil and *stephane*, she has been variously thought to represent either some female member of the Seleucid house (Babelon 2001[1890]: 56-57) or an uncertain goddess, perhaps Demeter (*BMC Seleucids* 43 nos. 1-4). The circumstantial evidence makes the former interpretation seem most likely and even helps to reveal the identity of the royal woman.

A recently discovered example of the Antiochus IV type (Plate 18 no. 10) issued at Seleucia helps to clarify the identity of the “veiled female bust”. This coin, found by a metal detectorist in the environs of northern Israel during the 1970s, follows the usual type in all but one important detail. Instead of the control mark that is normally found to the left of the woman’s head it is possible to make out the *fleur-de-lis* tip of a scepter which disappears behind her shoulder. Such an attribute brings to mind the portraits of Ptolemaic queens that frequently used this symbol to assimilate the royal women to Aphrodite. Indeed, the type is similar to the royal portraits of Arsinoe II (Plate 19 no. 11; cf. Svoronos 938, 1159, 1269, 1319), Arsinoe III (Plate 19 no. 12), and especially of Cleopatra I (Plate 19 no. 13; cf. Smith 1988: pl. 75 nos. 15-16), a sister of Seleucus IV and Antiochus

<sup>12</sup> Mørkholm (1965-66: 10-11) assigned all of the prow series to Seleucia and the tripod and types without symbols to Antioch. However, because some coins in the prow series bear the obverse monogram, A-B, a hallmark of the Ake mint during the reigns of Seleucus IV, Antiochus IV, and Antiochus V it seems very likely that they must have been struck at Ake-Ptolemais and not at Seleucia (*SNG Spaer* 1102-1107).

IV, which appear on the silver and gold coins of the Ptolemaic kingdom. The more common Seleucid type without the scepter is not unlike a veiled female bust type, sometimes thought to represent Berenice II, used on the municipal coinage of Marathus (Plate 19 no. 14) during the course of the 180s BC (*BMC Phoenicia* 122-123 nos. 15-18; *SNG Copenhagen* 158).

Since the Seleucid type appears to follow a pattern for Hellenistic royal portraits it may be worth seriously considering the possibility that it is in fact a portrait of a Seleucid queen. Because the same Seleucid portrait type continues from the reign of Seleucus IV to that of Antiochus IV, it seems reasonable to suggest that it must represent a woman who was important to both of these kings. Only two real possibilities exist: the woman in question should be understood either as Laodice III, the mother of Seleucus and Antiochus, or as Laodice IV, the wife of each king in succession (Le Rider 1986: 413-414). While the former might seem to be a possibility on the surface, it was not normal Seleucid practice at any time to depict the Queen Mother on the coinage unless she was acting as co-regent with her son, as in the cases of Laodice IV and Antiochus the son of Seleucus IV (Plate 19 no. 15) and Cleopatra Thea and Antiochus VIII (Plate 19 no. 16; cf. *CSE* 316, 721-722, 803-804, 806, 809, 821, 847-849; *SNG Spaer* 2437-2440, 2471-2473, 2483-2492). Therefore, we should probably be critical of any identification of the portrait as Laodice III. The rather youthful appearance of the veiled woman also seems to tell against the mother of the kings. After all, Antiochus IV was already close to forty years old by the time he claimed the Seleucid throne, which would probably make his mother sixty at the very least.

A far better candidate for the identity of the veiled woman is Laodice IV who seems to have been fairly young at the time of her marriage to Seleucus IV, if we can judge from the portrait that appears alongside that of the child king Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, on octodrachms (Plate 19 no. 15) struck in Antioch after the murder of her husband in 175 BC (Le Rider 1999: 187 nos. 1-2; *CSE* 91). Close comparison between the facial features of Laodice IV, as depicted on these rare gold issues, and the veiled woman on the bronze coins of Seleucus IV and Antiochus IV makes it very likely that the same person is shown on each. The portrait type also seems to tally with

the bust of Laodice that appears in conjunction with that of Antiochus IV on the quasi-municipal bronze coinage of Syrian Tripolis (Plate 19 no. 17) issued in 167/6 BC (*SNG Spaer* 1068–1069). The woman on the bronze and gold issues has the same nose and full cheeks that the Laodice IV portraits have, and although the veil of the former is worn much further forward on the head than Laodice wears it on the octodrachms it is clear that both women have similar hairstyles.<sup>13</sup> The folds of the veil reveal a tight bun of hair at the back of the head as well as the outline of a *stephane*, which are in accordance with the portrait of Laodice. Based on the similarity of facial features and dress it is difficult to see whom else the veiled female could represent except Laodice IV.<sup>14</sup>

The difference in the wearing of the veil between the gold and the bronze issues may be attributed to the fact that on the latter, Laodice appears assimilated to a goddess after the Ptolemaic fashion, whereas on the former her role as Seleucid queen mother is emphasized. While in Egypt queens tended to be associated with Aphrodite as an avatar of the native Isis, it may be that the divinizing portrait of Laodice IV also had local connotations. Roughly contemporary with the Laodice types of Antiochus IV at Ake-Ptolemaïs was an obscure, but large, series of small serrate coins (Plate 19 no. 18) bearing the obverse image of the king wearing a radiate crown and the reverse type of an unidentified veiled goddess holding a scepter (*SNG Spaer* 1130–1138; *CSE* 791–793), variously described as Demeter, Hera, or most likely Atargatis (Bijovsky 1994–99: 39–41; Brett 1945: 33). The similarity of attributes and attire make one wonder whether this is not the goddess to whom Laodice was assimilated on the bronze issues. This would fit well with the Ptolemaic parallel, for in Syria and Phoenicia the Greeks often recognized Atargatis not only as a local version of Demeter because of her maintenance of the land's fruitfulness, but also as

<sup>13</sup> The wearing of the veil far back on the head is thought to be a particularly northern Syrian style while the more forward fashion was popular in Coele-Syria, Phoenicia and Egypt (Seyrig 1946: 118; Le Rider 1986: 415). The forward style on the veiled female bronzes suggests a possible Ptolemaic model for the coin type.

<sup>14</sup> The similarities of physiognomy and dress have been noted by Fleischer (1991: 41–42). The identity of the woman was already suspected by Forrer (1969: 183).

Aphrodite because of her power in the sphere of human and animal fertility. It is interesting that in a late source Antiochus IV is said to have contracted a sacred marriage with this very goddess at her shrine in Hierapolis-Bambyce (Granius Licinianus 28). How fitting it would be if his earthly wife was also linked to this goddess.

There might have been good political reasons for both Seleucus IV and Antiochus IV to employ the portrait of Laodice on their coinages. Seleucus might have used the portrait of his wife in order to promote an image of family stability for his regime, which tended to focus its efforts on recovery from the economic and political difficulties brought on by his father's Roman entanglements. It is also possible that the Laodice bronzes might have been intended to advertise Seleucus' wedding or to honor the wife who gave birth to his heir, the child Antiochus. Antiochus IV would then have liked to continue such types at the beginning of his reign in order to assert his legitimacy. In 175 he returned to Antioch and married Laodice, thereby establishing himself as co-regent. Technically speaking, Antiochus IV was a usurper, since Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, was the rightful king despite his extremely young age. Thus, Antiochus IV might have used the image of his new wife to help legitimize his position as co-regent. One suspects that the series in the name of Antiochus IV did not continue to be struck after 170, the year in which he had the son of Seleucus and Laodice killed. It would have been somewhat impolitic to murder the child and yet continue the coinage, which honored his mother and hearkened back to the types of his father.

Because of the large quantity of coins issued in this series and the continuation of the same types from Seleucus IV to Antiochus IV it is tempting to suggest that some of the coins struck in the name of Antiochus may actually be from the brief reign of Antiochus, the son of Seleucus (Mørkholm 1965: 66; Le Rider and Seyrig 1967: 21). Unfortunately, it is not now possible to distinguish between issues of the latter and his murderer, Antiochus IV Epiphanes.

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## HISTORY, EPIC, AND NUMISMATICS: ON THE TITLE OF YAZDGERD I (*RĀMŠĀHR*)

TOURAJ DARYAEE\*

The early Sasanian kings proclaimed themselves to be from the race of the gods. This is clear from their royal inscriptions as well as the legends on their coins starting with Ardaxšīr I to the fourth century CE. Ardaxšīr's inscription at Naqš-e Rostam reads:

*ptkr-y ZNḤ mzdysn bg-y 'rthšīr MLK'n MLK' 'yr'n*  
*MNW ctr-y MN yz'n BRḤ bg-y p'pk-y MLK'*  
*pahikar ēn mazdēsn bay ardaxšīr šāhān šāh ērān*  
*kē čīhr az yazdān pūs bay pābag šāh*

"This is the image of the Mazdaean Majesty,  
Ardaxšīr, King of Kings of Ērān, whose origin is from the  
gods, son of the Majesty King Pābag."<sup>1</sup>

With Ardaxšīr II (379–383 CE), the Sasanian kings began to adopt alternative titles which did not connect them to the gods anymore. By the end of the fourth century CE, the kings only proclaimed to be *mzdysn* "Mazdaean" and *MLK'n MLK'* "King of Kings", and the legends for unknown and yet unexplained reasons became much

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<sup>1</sup> I have adopted H. Humbach and P.O. Skjærvø's (1983: 27) translation. For the inscriptions see Back (1978: 281).

shorter. However, with Yazdgerd I (399–420 CE), a new title is inscribed on his coins which reads *l'mšty*. The late eminent Austrian numismatist, Robert Göbl, translated the title as “Delight of the Empire” (Göbl 1983: 330). As he noted, the legend usually begins at 11 o'clock and runs counterclockwise and continues in a second line due to the length of the legend (Göbl 1983: 330). There is no problem with Göbl's concise description of Yazdgerd's coinage, but I believe the title needs to be translated somewhat differently in light of the historical and epic material. This brief essay will discuss the origin and meaning of the title as well as its importance not only for Sasanian numismatics, but also for Sasanian history and epic, which demonstrate their often-interrelated aspects.

### THE OBERSE LEGEND

There is little need to describe the silver coinage (*drahm*) of Yazdgerd I since it portrays the king's bust on the obverse as most Sasanian coins do (Figure 1). His name *yzdkrt* “Yazdgerd” is struck on the right side of the bust and the title of *l'mšty* on the left side of the bust. As mentioned, I believe the title needs to be translated differently in light of the historical evidence. The word *l'm* / *rām* can be translated as “peace”, “ease”, “pleasure”, “joy”, or “satisfaction”, but as we will see, in Yazdgerd's case “peace” is the most plausible option. Considering the relatively contemporaneous Manichaean material, in which *r'myšn* means “peace” and *r'myn-* “give peace”, Yazdgerd's legend should be translated similarly.

Avestan *rāmaya-* “to calm”, and *rāman-* “peace” also further this suggestion. Such Middle Persian words as *rāmēnīdār* “one who brings



Figure 1. *Drahm* of Yazdgerd I (ANS 1940.209.60).

peace”, *rāmišn* “peace”, and also Persian *ārāmiš* “peace” all support the same reading (Nyberg 1974: 166). The second component of the title is well known, where *štyl* / *šahr* > (Old Persian) *xšaça-* renders “dominion, kingdom, empire, realm”.<sup>2</sup> We should not forget that on the right side of the bust the name of the ruler, *yzdkrt*, is also inscribed. Thus the legend should be read as *yzdkrt l’mštry* / *yazdgerd rāmšahr*, which translates as “Yazdgerd, who maintains peace in (his) dominion”.

### HISTORICAL EVIDENCE FOR THE TITLE

We must try to identify the possible reasons for which Yazdgerd I chose to have this title struck on his coinage. It is noteworthy that the Arabic and Persian sources are unanimous in portraying Yazdgerd I in a negative light. He is given the epithet of *al-athīm* “sinner” in the Arabic historical sources, which corresponds to his Persian title of *bezehkar* “sinner” (al-Tabarī, p. 70). Al-Jāhiz states that he “changed the traditions of the Sasanian dynasty, agitated the earth, oppressed the people and was tyrannical and corrupt” (Zeki Pasha 1914: 163; Frye 1983: 143). In the *Mujmal al-tawārīkh* his reign is summed up in one paragraph with the introductory sentence of “He did nothing except tyranny” (*Mujmal al-tawārīkh*, p. 68). But we have to remember that this “sinfulness” of Yazdgerd I is only apparent from sources which were derived from a Sasanian tradition under Zoroastrian priestly influence.

There are several reasons for which Yazdgerd has received the title of “sinner” as opposed to *rāmšahr*, which was struck on his coins. First, he is known to have reduced the power of the grandees (*wuzurgān*) and the Zoroastrian priests (*mowbedān*) (*Mujmal al-tawārīkh*, p. 143). In fact Socrates Scholasticus (8.7.9) states that Yazdgerd I ordered that the tribe of magi (μάγοι) should be decimated (Ἀπεδεκάτωσε). This statement ties in with Yazdgerd’s religious policy not only towards the Zoroastrians, but also the other religious communities within his empire.

<sup>2</sup> Also Avestan *xšaθra-*; Parthian *hštr*; Manichaean Parthian and Manichaean Middle Persian *šhr* “world, kingdom, aeon,” Pazand *šahr*; also Persian *šahr* “city, dwelling,” (Nyberg 1974: 183).

In the Judeo-Christian material we find that Yazdgerd I is seen in quite a positive light. In these sources he is portrayed as a benevolent king who was religiously tolerant of all and allowed them to live comfortably among others, thrive, and even become strong as a community. His open-mindedness towards other religious groups may be seen even in the Zoroastrian sources, where he is connected with the Jewish community. We know that Yazdgerd married Šišīnduxt, the daughter of the Jewish exilarch (Darmesteter 1889: 41-42; Gray 1916: 465). A Middle Persian Zoroastrian text, the *Šāhrestānīhā ī Ērān-šahr* has a passage in this regard (ŠĒ 47; Daryae 2002: 20):

*šāhrestān (ī) šūs ud šūstar šišīnduxt zan ī yazdgird*

*šābūhrān kard čiyōn duxt ī rēš-galūdag yahūdagān*

*šāh mād-iz ī wahrām ī gōr būd*

“The city of Šūs and Šūstar were built by Šišīnduxt, the wife of Yazdgerd, the son of Šābuhr, since she was the daughter of Reš Galut, the king of the Jews and also the mother of Wahrām Gōr.”

In the Talmudic sources, as well, Yazdgerd I is mentioned with respect and honor as being knowledgeable about Judaism (Neusner 1983: 915). In the Syriac texts he is given the epithets *malkā zakāyā wənaṣīḥā* “the victorious and glorious king” (Asmussen 1983: 940). It is during his reign that Christianity in the empire became officially tolerated, and it was this action of Yazdgerd I which opened the path for the increase in the number of Christians in Persia (Socrates Scholasticus 8.7.9).

His foreign policy clearly demonstrates why he would have been considered *rāmšahr*. Yazdgerd I was responsible for bringing an end to hostility with the Roman empire. The Roman emperor Arcadius had sent Marutha the bishop of Maiferqat, to make peace arrangements with the Sasanians, which came to fruition in 409 CE (Frye 1983: 143). Agathias, who rarely has anything kind to say about a Persian king, states these words about Yazdgerd: “he never waged war against the Romans or harmed in any other way, but his attitude was consistently *peaceful*” (Agathias 4.26.8).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> For the treatment of the Sasanians by Agathias see Cameron (1969-70).

So his tolerance and peaceful treatment of people in the empire would have been one reason for which he adopted the title of *rāmšahr*. Secondly, his peaceful relations with the Romans, which ended a long period of the Perso-Roman wars, would have been a second reason for him to strike the legend *rāmšahr* on his coinage.

### RĀMŠAHR AND SASANIAN IMPERIAL PROPAGANDA

The title is interesting in that no preceding Sasanian king ever used the title of *rāmšahr*. It must be noted that after Yazdgerd I, in the fifth century CE, the kings began to strike coins with the title, *kay* “Kayānid”. This demonstrated their affinity with the Kayānian rulers mentioned in the *Avesta*. This Avestan orientation became a main component of Sasanian imperial ideology from the fifth century onwards (Daryaei 1995; Shahbazi 2001). The inclusion of the Middle Persian *xwarrah* “glory” from the reign of Xusrō II in 591 CE also furthered this interest in the Kayānian dynasts by the Sasanians. What is significant is that the title *rāmšahr* “who maintains peace in (his) dominion” may also be connected with the Kayānian kings, at least as the Sasanians understood the title.

It can be said that the adoption of the title *rāmšahr* already signified Sasanian adoption of Kayānian ideology. This is based on the occurrence of the title for Kay Wištāsp, the patron of Zoroaster in Middle Persian texts.<sup>4</sup> This fact is clearly seen in the epic text, the *Ayādgār ī Zarērān* (The Memoir of Zarēr), which goes back at least to the Parthian period. In this text Kay Wištāsp is given this title (Monchi-Zadeh 1981: 46; Gheiby 1999: 21). The epic story which must have been current in the Parthian period and then adopted by the Sasanians and perhaps even performed, is about the religious wars between the Iranians and Tūrānians. The minister of Kay Wištāsp, named Jāmāsp, foretells the unavoidable fate of the Persian heroes and noble sons in the face of the enemies’ onslaught. Kay Wištāsp becomes despondent

<sup>4</sup> The *Dēnkard* (DkM, 600.12) supplies *rāmšāh* for the title of Kay Wištāsp, which should be emended to *rāmšahr* (Shaki 1986: 265). Still, in the Persian texts we find *rām [w]ištāspān* (*Mujmal al-tawārīkh*, p. 52).

over this news. Jāmāsp, in telling him that it may be possible to protect these nobles through building of a magical fortress, calls the king *rāmšahr kay wištāsp šāh* "Kayānian king Wištāsp, who maintains peace in (his) dominion," which is similar to *yazdgerd rāmšahr* "Yazdgerd who maintains peace in (his) dominion" on the king's coinage.

Based on this evidence one can suggest that in fact the idea of adoption of Kayānian ideology by the Sasanian kings did not begin with the adoption of the legend *kay*, but in the late fourth, early fifth centuries CE title of *rāmšahr*. It was only after the adoption of the title *rāmšahr* by Yazdgerd I that the preoccupation with Kayānid ideology and history led to the title of *Kay* and finally bore the legend *xwarrah* (Glory), both being struck on the Sasanian coins. This Kayānid ideology would last until the end of Yazdgerd III's rule in the seventh century. In effect the Kayānid cycle of Sasanian imperial ideology began with *rāmšahr* and not *kay* in the last year of the fourth century CE.

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**NUMISMATIC MATERIALS RECOVERED FROM  
THE FORT VENGEANCE MONUMENT SITE  
(VT-RU-216), PITTSFORD, VERMONT**

PLATE 20

ROBERT WILSON HOGE\*

In 2000, the Vermont Agency of Transportation commissioned a study to determine the impact of a proposed highway project for upgrading U.S. Route 7, through the towns of Pittsford and Brandon, in Rutland County. These Phase I and II archaeological investigations were conducted by the Cultural Resource Group of Louis Berger & Associates, Inc., of East Orange, New Jersey (now simply called The Louis Berger Group, Inc.). In the course of this firm's archaeological work, which included historical investigation and analysis as well as test excavation, five eighteenth-century coins were found in association with what are believed to be the remnants of a structure dating back to the 1780s. This building was located through efforts to determine the actual site of the historic Fort Vengeance, an installation which had played a significant local role in the Revolutionary War and was the subject of a prominent roadside landmark in Pittsford (LB: 26–40, 86, 159–219, 225–238). The scant numismatic materials recovered provide an interesting glimpse at the small change which saw service in rural New England at the end of the eighteenth century.

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Pittsford had been established as a town some years before the Revolution at the location of a ford across Otter Creek, on the Crown Point Military Road which connected Charleston, New Hampshire, with the prominent fort at Crown Point, New York, controlling the head of Lake Champlain. The town of Pittsford, named after the popular British prime minister, William Pitt the Elder (1708–1778), was clearly a frontier outpost. The colonial governors of both New Hampshire and New York had granted land charters, claiming jurisdiction, but settlement, which began around the end of the French and Indian War, was slow. During the Revolution, early settlers were seriously threatened by native Indians (often Caughnawagas, or Mohawks) and British and loyalist soldiers out of Canada. A small fortification, called Fort Mott, was erected by the local settlers for their protection in 1777. In the spring and summer of 1780, Vermont built a much more substantial palisade with corner “flankers”, for which some archival accounts survive. It was called “Fort Vengeance” in hope that its garrison could retaliate for the killing of Caleb Houghton (1760–1780), one of its soldiers. The fort came under attack at least twice, and is known in one instance to have been defended by local women (LB: 168–170).

The location where the five coins were found, associated with a building catalogued as “Structure D”, has been identified as a farmhouse belonging to one Caleb Hendee, Sr. (1745–1823), upon whose farmland the Board of War for the republic of Vermont erected and operated the fort (1780–1782). Historical and archaeological evidence suggests that the residence was occupied from c. 1782 to 1830. Its precise relationship to the fortification remains uncertain, although soil indications suggest that the stockade entrenchment may have been close by (LB: 168–188).

Documentation points to the house having been operated as a tavern by Hendee from c. 1783 to 1808 (LB: 168–188). Ceramic remnants present, primarily sherds of standard redware (66%) and creamware (19%), are consistent with and typical of domestic occupation at this time (LB: 226). The relatively large number of glass bottle fragments found in context support the probability of the site having served as a public tavern, due to the scarcity of bottles in rural households during this period (LB: 227–231, 241–242).

Test excavations at the site consisted of a series of initial shovel samples (40-centimeter squares set on an 8-meter grid), followed by trenches cut by heavy equipment and then hand-excavated and screened units 1 or 2 meters square, situated in areas showing indications of artifact concentrations. "Structure D" was revealed to be the dry-laid limestone slab and river cobble foundation for a building with dimensions of approximately 16 by 32 feet—typical of late eighteenth-century dwellings in rural New England. Five coins were found separately in the excavations: one, a 1786 Mexican *medio real*, in excavation unit 10, and the others in unit 30 (Borstel 2002). These units were test excavations of Structure D, the former just within and the latter immediately outside the conjectured foundation of the structure.

The coins are formally identified as follows ("S" numbers are field specimen record-keeping notations assigned by the Louis Berger firm):

1. (S. 602.6) Viceroyalty of Mexico, Philip V (1700–1746). AR 1 Real, 1746, M (Assayer: Manuel de la Peña). Cayón 8037; KM 75.2. Finess: .9170 silver; statutory weight: 3.383 g; actual weight: 2.908 g (pierced at about 11:30 o'clock, in terms of the obverse).

*Obv.*: Spanish Borbón arms, crowned; to the left, R (for "R[eal]"); to the right, I (for "I"); .PHS. V. D. G. HISP. ET IND. R. (*Philippus V dei gratia Hispaniarum et Indiarum rex*: "Philip V, by the grace of God, king of the Spains and the Indies").

*Rev.*: Below a crown, the hemispheres of the old and new worlds above waves; to left and right, a crowned column wrapped by a scroll reading PLUS, on the left, and ULTRA on the right (meaning "more beyond"); VTRAQUE VNUM ("both sides one"), Mo 1746 M ("Mexico, 1746, M[anuel]").

Comments: This coin is the traditional "bit" (one eighth of a "Spanish milled dollar" or "piece of eight") of early American usage. Having been pierced for suspension on jewelry or clothing, it may have already undergone a change in meaning from currency to use as an item of decoration prior to its deposition. As a precious-metal coin with intrinsic value, however, it could still have reentered circulation after use as an ornament. The columns on the reverse, of course, represent the Pillars of Hercules, symbol-

izing the Straits of Gibraltar as epitomizing the Spanish empire, within and beyond the Mediterranean World. They were depicted only on coins minted in Spain's overseas colonial possessions, never on those of the peninsular homeland.

Struck in 8-, 4-, 2-, 1- and  $\frac{1}{2}$ -*reales* denominations, this coinage type is commonly known in Spanish as that of the *dos mundos* ("two worlds") or *columnarios* ("columns" or "pillars"). One eighth of the famous "Spanish milled dollar", "eight bits", or "piece of eight" (as the principal Spanish colonial silver coin was called), the *real* was a  $12\frac{1}{2}$ -cent piece in reference to the United States decimal system's "dollar" following the coinage act of 1792 (there was an effort to reckon such coins as *dismes*, however).

Tokens and scrip notes were issued in the United States in  $12\frac{1}{2}$  cent "bit" denominations until after the Spanish coins were eliminated from status as legal tender by the Coinage Act of 1857. Spanish colonial silver coins are known to have been brought into British North America in significant numbers. Familiarity with them no doubt helped dispose the Founding Fathers toward adopting the Spanish colonial *peso de a ocho reales* (as the piece of eight or dollar was properly called), as the unit of value for the money of the United States. The legacy of the dollar's "bit" increments survived in stock exchanges, which in the United States quoted prices in eighths of a dollar rather than in the decimal system until 9 April 2001.

2. (S. 397.13) Viceroyalty of Mexico, Charles III (1759–1788). AR half real, 1786, FM (Assayers: Francisco Arance Cobos and Mariano Rodriguez). Cayón 10464; KM 69.2a. Fineness: .8960 silver; statutory weight: 1.692 g; actual weight: 1.483 g.

Obv. Draped and mailed bust of king to right; **CAROLUS. III. DEI. GRATIA.** ("Charles III, by the grace of God").

Rev. Crowned arms of Borbón Spain between two columns, each wrapped by a scroll reading **PLUS** on the left and **ULTRA** on the right; **HISPAN. ET. IND. R. MO. F. M.** ("king of the Spains and the Indies, Mexico, F[rancisco], M[ariano]").

Comments: This coin is a typical “half bit” in common use in Early America (legal tender in the United States until 1857). After the coining act of 1792, though, it normally passed for only five cents in value (i.e., as a “half disme”) rather than the 6¼ cents it theoretically represented. The columns continued to epitomize Spain’s world empire, as earlier represented on New World mint coinage of the “Dos Mundos” or “Columnarios” types and earlier hand-hammered issues. Like their earlier equivalents, the 8-*reales* coins corresponding to this piece are sometimes referred to as “pillar dollars” or “Spanish milled dollars” as well as “pieces of eight”.

3. (S. 598.24) United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, George III (1760–1820). Counterfeit Cu Halfpenny, 1772? (the last digit is indistinct and may be construed as resembling a “5”). Statutory weight of the regal half penny: 9.861 g; actual weight: 6.417 g.

*Obv.*: Mailed bust of King George III to right; **GEORGIVS III REX**.

*Rev.*: Britannia seated left, holding a branch and staff, to her lower right, oval British Shield of Union; **BRITANNIA**; in exergue, 177[2?].

Comments: A so-called “Tory copper”, this piece—which appears to be a die match with a 1772-dated specimen in the ANS collection (ANS 1937.50.17; 6.414 g)—is possibly of American origin, although it is not of a variety which has yet been specifically demonstrated to be such. Generally, 1775 is the date most commonly found on the counterfeit half pennies. Contemporary forgeries of this kind formed the normal circulating small change current from the 1770s to around 1800, both in Britain and North America. In England, they were known generically as “Birmingham coppers” or “Brummagem”, and in America as “Bungtown” coppers.

4. (S. 583.1) Republic of Vermont, Cu Penny/cent/copper, 1786. Bressett 5-E; Ryder/Richardson 7 and B. 6-E; R/R 8. Statutory weight: 7.2 g; actual weight: 6.411 g (broken).

*Obv.*: (Essentially obliterated) sun over mountain with plow in foreground, the so-called “Landscape Type” [**VERMONTENSIVM**/ 1786].

*Rev.*: (Largely obliterated) "all-seeing eye of Providence" within a starburst pattern, with circumferential legend **STELLA QUARTA DECIMA** ("fourteenth star"), die variety "E".

*Comments*: The reverse die variety found on this coin is recorded as paired only with Landscape-type VERMONTENSIMUM 1786-dated obverses (around 250 examples are known of RR.7/B.5-E, and around 200 of RR.8/B.6-E). Coinage of the Vermont republic remained in circulation, along with all sorts of other coppers of similar size, for many years; however, this piece, while in circulation, would not have been acceptable in such a deteriorated condition. The corrosion and damage appear to be post-depositional.

5. (S. 598.25) United States of America, Cu Cent, 1797. Small fraction, stemless wreath variety. Sheldon 132. Statutory weight: 10.89 g; actual weight: 10.511 g.

*Obv.*: Female bust r.; above, **LIBERTY**; below, 1797.

*Rev.*: **UNITED STATES OF AMERICA** around a wreath, within which are the words **ONE / CENT**, and below the bow of which is the fraction 1/100.

*Comments*: This specimen is a respectable example of the regular-issue pure copper 1-cent coinage of the United States mint at Philadelphia, featuring the statutory legends and representation of "Miss Liberty". The obverse effigy, known as the "Draped Bust" type, was introduced on cents in 1796 and utilized until 1808. It shows a bust with low decolletage and loosely waved and curled coiffure drawn back by a bow. The buxom model was a socially prominent Philadelphian, Mrs. Ann Willing Bingham, whose portrait had been drawn by Gilbert Stuart and "sculpted" by one John Eckstein for coinage production dies. Draped Bust series dies were cut by Robert Scot. Two of Scot's reverse dies which were combined with 1797-dated obverses were accidentally prepared without stems on the wreath.

Although discolored (patinated and somewhat encrusted), this specimen is nevertheless in quite a fine state of preservation for this scarce die-combination variety. It is probably in what collec-

tors would call at least "Very Good" condition; were it not an excavated example, it might even be in contention for the "condition census" status attached to the six best-preserved examples known. Probably fewer than 50 specimens of this variety are believed to be extant today (Noyes 1991).

The coins were evidently casual losses, not surprising in a tavern context. They were all recovered from disturbed fill deposits, and thus may not accurately reflect their original situation. Unit 10 was a 1 × 1-meter square test pit on the interior side of the western foundation wall; the coin found there (Mexican 1786 half-real) was recovered while sieving soil from stratum B, a disturbed plow zone. Unit 30 was a 2 × 2-meter test pit situated on the outside of the northern foundation wall at the end of a long test trench (Trench 4). While the Vermont copper was recovered from sieving of soil excavated from the back-hoe trench, the 1746 Mexican real, the counterfeit 1772 British halfpenny, and the 1797 cent were all recorded *in situ* in Stratum D (or, in the case of the cent, at the interface of strata B and D), which is interpreted as a possible disturbed foundation trench relating to the erection of the Hendee building.

Although the coins from the Fort Vengeance site are insignificant as a statistical sample, and their specific stratigraphic and associational contexts are somewhat deficient, it is nevertheless satisfying to observe a professionally documented discovery. These deposits confirm conjectural and anecdotal suppositions about money in use in everyday life during the period of the Hendee house's occupancy. In fact, these pieces may very well typify what one would expect to find in this sort of eastern American settlement context of the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries, as the town of Pittsford developed from a frontier outpost into a prospering agricultural village on the highroad between New England's population centers and Canada.

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## EARLY WASHINGTON MEDALS

GEORGE FULD\*

Along with Lincoln, George Washington is the most widely depicted individual on medals relating to the US, both domestic and foreign. In Washington's case, the few medals issued during his lifetime had mostly imaginary busts since few, if any, lifelike illustrations of him were yet available. In this paper an attempt is made to present an outline of the early medals in chronological order, rather than by category of issue as originally defined by Baker (Baker 1885) and continued in the same format by recent authors (Rulau and Fuld 1999).

As shown in Table 1, eleven medals (sixteen with the subvarieties) were issued during Washington's lifetime. This table lists both the date of issue shown on the medal and the actual (or projected) date of issue. In a little pamphlet by Wayte Raymond entitled *Early Medals of Washington 1776–1834* (Raymond 1941), the illustrations of medals until 1834 are arranged more or less in chronological order and just titled. In this listing of the medals, detailed descriptions will be presented separately, but comments about each will be arranged chronologically.

An engraved round George Washington Indian Peace Medal (Figure 1), which Fuld found at the British Museum and reported in *Coin World* (Fuld 1963b), is undoubtedly the earliest medal issued in honor

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TABLE 1. Medals Issued During Washington's Lifetime

Name	Baker Number	Date on Medal	Actual Date of Issue
Round Micmac Peace medal	NL	(1776)	1777
Voltaire Medal—Paris	78	1778	1778
Washington Before Boston	47	1776	1786
Oval Indian Peace Medals	NL	1789	1789
		1792	1792
		1793	1793
		1795	1795
Twigg Medal	65	1789	1789
Manley Medal	61	(1790)	1790
1796 Getz "half dollar"	33	1796	1796?
Repub. Ameri Medal	68	1796	1796
Masonic Medal-Getz	288	1797	1797
Wyon Medal	66	1797	1798
Seasons Indian Peace Medals			
a. The Shepherd	170	ND	1798
b. The Farmer	171	ND	1798
c. The Family	172	ND	1798

of Washington. The museum staff at that time indicated that it was from the collection of George III, and Stahl (1991) believes that it might have been traded in when the British issued their own medals and encouraged the Indians to surrender previous issues. Prins reconstructed the history of this medal (Prins 1985), and Adams has discussed the medal most recently (Adams 1999; see also Fuld 2002a).

A council of the tribes of the Abenaki Confederation was held in July 1776 in Watertown, Massachusetts. Micmac and Maliseet Indians came "to see and talk with the Council and General Washington from both (of) whom they received letters" (Prins 1985). Prins theorizes that the medals were probably not available during the council but were probably handed out at a later date in February or March 1777. Adams quotes an interesting letter from Lieutenant Governor Hughes to Lord George Germain dated 12 October 1778: "The Indian chiefs



FIGURE 1. G W round engraved peace medal (courtesy of the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum).

aforementioned, on their occasion of this Treaty of Peace, returned into the hands of our Superintendent [Michael Franklin] the presents which they had received from the Rebel General Washington” (Adams 1999: 41, citing United Kingdom Public Records Office TI 552, 347).

This medal is unusual as it has a portrait of Washington on the obverse with the initials **G** and **W** in the left and right fields, respectively. The reverse shows an Indian seated by a free-standing pillar, apparently a symbol of Liberty since it appears on a Dutch medal of 1772 for the birth of an heir to the Stadholder and on a German medal of 1783 celebrating American independence. There is a holed specimen that was in the possession of members of the Micmac nation. Stahl

speculates that it might have been engraved by Paul Revere, an unproven hypothesis (Stahl 1991). This medal would satisfy a motion of the Massachusetts Council who wished to reward Indians with a token of the peace council in 1778.

The second recorded medal of Washington, the Voltaire issue made in Paris in 1778, listed as Baker 78, has a bust strongly resembling Julius Caesar (Figure 2). Little is known of the background of this



FIGURE 2. Voltaire medal, 1778 (B78).

issue, but reportedly it was struck by the order of the writer Voltaire, according to the journal and letters of Samuel Curwen (Rulau and Fuld 1999), an American in England 1775-1783, in an entry of 20 April 1778. "Voltaire" was the pen name of the author François-Marie Arouet (1694-1778), who had returned to Paris in early 1778 after an absence of 34 years and died the same year at the age of 84. The portrait is purely imaginary, and some say it resembles the features of the British humanitarian, Jeremy Bentham.

The reverse shows a field of radiant military trophies and the inscription around reads **WASHIN. REUNIT PAR UN RARE ASSEMBLAGE LES TALENTS DU GUERRIER & LES VERTUS DU SAGE**. This translates to "Washington combines in a rare union the talents of a warrior and the virtues of a philosopher." The medal is normally struck in bronze but about five specimens are known in silver: reportedly in the Imperial Museum in Vienna; Massachusetts Historical Society (MHS) *ex* Appleton; Garrett collection; one *ex* Fuld, Picker July 1968, Stack's Steinberg May 1992, lot 43, B & M LaRiviere November 1999, lot

3078 at \$17,250; and a duplicate holed Norweb *ex Fuld*. It is also known struck over an English cartwheel twopence of 1797, which indicates restriking was possible. If one assumes that the medal was first struck in 1778, these few known cartwheel overstrikes indicate the dies were still in use, possibly at the Paris Mint.

The first medal authorized by the Continental Congress of the United States in 1776, the Washington Before Boston medal (Figure 3), is the most famous medal depicting Washington. In the twentieth



FIGURE 3. Washington Before Boston Medal,  
c. 1787 (B47).

century, there appeared no less than three major papers discussing this medal. They were by Fuld (1963), Ford (1969), and an unpublished treatise by G. A. Mooney (1976) presented to the Western Pennsylvania Numismatic Society in February 1976. Shortly after the battle of Bunker Hill (17 June 1775), George Washington of Virginia took command of the Continental Army of about 17,000 men, which was strongly encamped around Boston. The siege of Boston, involving 6,500 British troops under Maj. Gen. Thomas Gage, began in earnest. Gage was recalled in October, and Maj. Gen. William Howe replaced him. British reinforcements arrived in January 1776, bolstering the force to 12,000. But in March Howe decided to abandon Boston and pursue a campaign in New York, and the 12,000 British troops evacuated on 17 March 1776. Boston and Massachusetts were free of the British for the rest of the war.

On 25 March 1776, Congress passed a resolution authorizing a letter of thanks and a special gold medal for the commander-in-chief. They appointed a committee for this purpose—John Adams, John Jay, and Stephen Hopkins. The resultant medal, produced not before 1786, but possibly as late as 1790, in Paris has the now famous words on the obverse **COMITIA AMERICANA**, representing the Continental Congress. Stahl has stated that “Comitia Americana” was used on most early medals made by the US Mint (Stahl 1995).

The dies for the medal were executed in Paris by Pierre Simon Benjamin DuVivier, an eminent engraver, some time after May 1786. The French artist Nicolas-Marie Gatteaux drew the designs in 1785. DuVivier used the Washington bust modeled by Jean-Antoine Houdon, the French sculptor, which had been executed from life in October 1785 at Mount Vernon, Virginia. Houdon brought his work to Paris in January 1786. The gold medal for presentation to Washington was struck at the Paris Mint, as were the few impressions later in silver and a number in a dark red bronze. There are several trial pieces for this medal, including one with a line under the bust above **COMITIA AMERICANA**, as well as a struck medal with the error date **MCCLXXVI** instead of **MDCCLXXVI**. A rejected obverse die trial with a line below the bust is shown in Figure 3a. All known copies of this trial are electrotypes or tin struck shells. There are numerous varieties; at least five different restrikes and silver castings are known of this medal (Fuld 1963; Stahl 1995). Stahl lists the Boston Public Library (BPL)



FIGURE 3a. Die trial of obverse of Before Boston medal.

specimen, the Webster piece in silver at the MHS, and 29 others in the ANS cabinet. The ultimate restriking of the Before Boston medal is a marriage medal of 1888, using the obverse of the original medal with die cud before the chin and a wreath reverse inscribed in the center of the medal (Presidential 1997).

The legend on the obverse reads **WASHINGTON SUPREMO DUCI EXERCITVVM ADSERTORI LIBERTATIS**. The reverse reads **HOSTIBUS PRIMO FUGATIS** above; below in exergue, **BOSTONIUM RECUPERATUM / XVII. MARTII / MDCCLXXVI**. On the original medals, the **O** is perfectly round, there are periods after **XVII** and **MDCCLXXVI**, and the last **I** of **MARTII** is under the **R** of **RECUPERATUM**. In addition, four legs of a horse appear under Washington's horse. Interestingly enough, in the Raymond booklet (Raymond 1941), the Before Boston medal illustrated is a restrike. There are five silver specimens known as well as the original gold medal purchased by the "prominent" citizens of Boston in 1876 for \$5,000 and permanently housed at the BPL.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Washington's gold medal was first publicly offered in 1870 (Leavitt, Strebeigh & Co. 1970) as lot 1404. It was not sold as reserve price was not met.



There are a number of trials of this medal (Stahl 1995), but the most interesting is that with the error date **MCCLXXVI** (1276), known in both a solid strike and electrotype shells. It is illustrated in Figure 4.



FIGURE 4. Washington Before Boston error medal (courtesy of Bowers & Merena).

Four solid copies of the 1276 error piece have been traced: Dreyfuss lot 5228 (Bowers & Merena, *Presidential Coin & Antique* 1986); LaRiviere lot 3029 (Bowers & Merena 1999) *ex* Presidential lot 289 (Presidential 1980); Marcus lot 197 (Presidential Coin & Antique 2001); Ford collection. This die was later corrected to the correct notation, **MDCCLXXVI**.

The original medal in gold was presented to Washington on 21 March 1790 at Mount Vernon. Another specimen in gold appeared at the Chicago Coin Fair in the late 1980s and was briefly examined. Many years ago J. B. Stack (personal communication, c. 1950) told the author that one in gold was brought into their store by a band of gypsies but he couldn't obtain it. He assumed that it was melted later for its gold value. In addition, the author was told by Baron Melchior de la Pomelie (personal communication, 1960) that a specimen existed

in the south of France. The existence of other gold specimens is certainly likely, as the Paris Mint was known for striking medals to order with existing dies, but until these three medals can be examined closely their possible restrike status is unknown.

The five known silver specimens of this medal, including the Webster silver specimen at the MHS discussed previously, have an interesting background. The first one sold in the twentieth century was the Fuld specimen, sold in a Glendining sale, lot 241 (Glendining 1968). This medal originated in Peru in 1961, to Fuld, consigned to Picker in 1967, to an unknown dentist in Atlanta, and then consigned to Spink & Son and offered in the Glendining sale to Lucien LaRiviere to B & M LaRiviere, November 1999 lot 3026, at \$64,400, possibly a record price for a Washington medal. The piece at the Glendening sale brought the unheard-of price of £1050. After the sale, a letter to *The Times* (London) questioned the authenticity of the medal. Spink's asked John Ford to comment on the piece, and Ford's comments were published in the May 1969 issue of Spink & Son's *Numismatic Circular* (Ford 1969). He reaffirmed the genuine nature of the piece and gave further background on the issue. The third specimen is owned by John Ford, Jr., purchased in Paris in 1967. The fourth specimen is in the noted New England collection of John Adams, purchased from Rossa and Tannenbaum, who had obtained it in New York. The fifth silver specimen was auctioned in the David Dreyfuss sale as lot 5224 in 1986 (Bowers & Merena 1986) obtained from Alan Weinberg and finally appeared at the Ambassador Middendorf sale in 1990 as lot 32, for \$17,500 (Presidential 1990). As far as the author knows, no other appearance of this medal has been noted in any American auction sale.

The next series of medals are the engraved Indian Peace Medals of Washington, which have had much notoriety in recent years. For some reason, Baker did not list these (Baker 1885), but they are featured in Belden (1927). A recent paper published in *The Numismatist* (Fuld 1995) discussed the medals in some detail and the numerous fakes and replicas flooding the market. Stahl published the holdings at the ANS (Stahl 1992). These included an issue of 1789, one from 1792, and two from 1793 (one without a rim *ex* WWC Wilson 1925). Since these medals have been discussed in detail in recent years, and now that

they appear on the Internet (<http://www.indianpeace medal.com>), I will not repeat much of the information that is now readily available.

Although the presentation of medals to obedient Indians originated with the British in 1714 under the reign of George I, these were relatively small and in copper. The Spanish and French apparently awarded larger silver medals, but little documentation is available. The British previously had tried to replace French and Spanish medals with their own. When the fledgling United States wanted to reward the Indians, they resorted to large, medium, and small oval silver medals. No medal-size coining equipment was available in 1789 when they originated. Although they could be ordered from England, it was not until 1798 that struck medals were imported. In addition, certificates of merit were awarded with each medal. Medals were issued only for the years 1789, 1792, 1793, and 1795 (Figures 5 to 8). The medals were contracted to silversmiths mainly in Philadelphia, among whom was Joseph Richardson, a noted engraver. His medals had the hallmark **IR** on the reverse in an intaglio block. The medals range in size from the large ones at 114 × 147.5 mm to the smaller



FIGURE 5. Oval Peace Medal of 1789, 0.5 × .



FIGURE 6. Oval Peace Medal of 1792, 0.5 × .



FIG. 7. Oval Peace Medal of 1793, the Brand specimen, 0.5 × .  
(courtesy of Bowers & Merena).

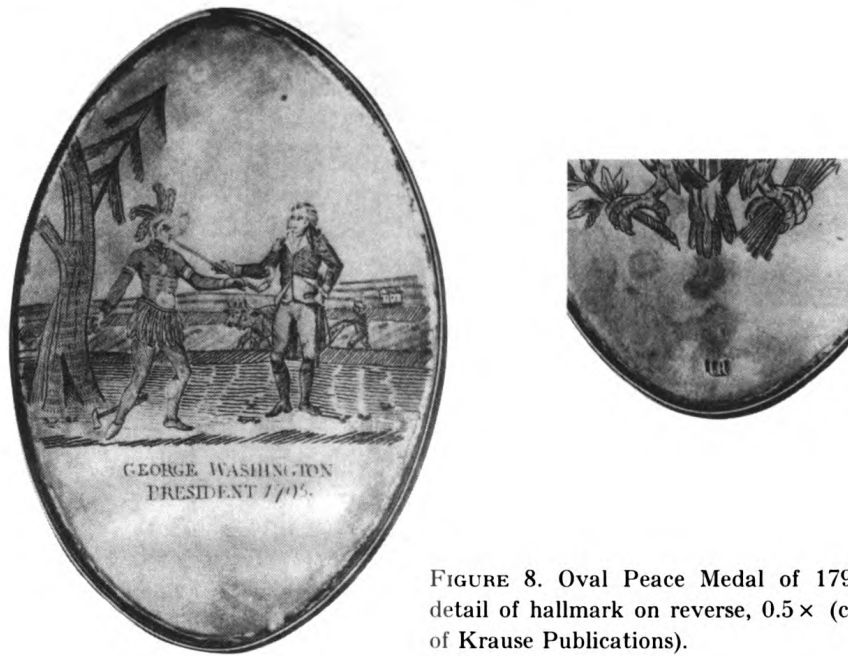


FIGURE 8. Oval Peace Medal of 1795 with detail of hallmark on reverse, 0.5× (courtesy of Krause Publications).

size about 82 × 128 mm. The larger medals were for the more important chiefs, while the smaller ones were for lesser chiefs. Among authentic copies in museums and in the few private collections, the large medals are more common than the smaller ones.

Methods for determining if the medals are genuine are outlined by Fuld (1996b); many questionable medals have appeared since the 1950s, because genuine oval Peace Medals sell for over \$50,000 in choice condition. Information on fakes is also available on the Internet (<http://www.exonumia.com/fakes/indian.htm>). Further details on oval medals are presented in the fine work by Prucha (1971) as well as that by Belden previously cited (Belden 1927).

The next medal, signed Twigg (Figure 9) dated 1789, is certainly an English production, definitely not American, as noted by Raymond. Forrer states that Twigg was an employee of the Soho Mint (Forrer 1908). The portrait facing right was modeled after a sketch of Washington made by Joseph Wright when he attended New York's Trinity Church, where Washington worshiped. The reverse has wording strongly resembling that used on the 1792 General of the Armies

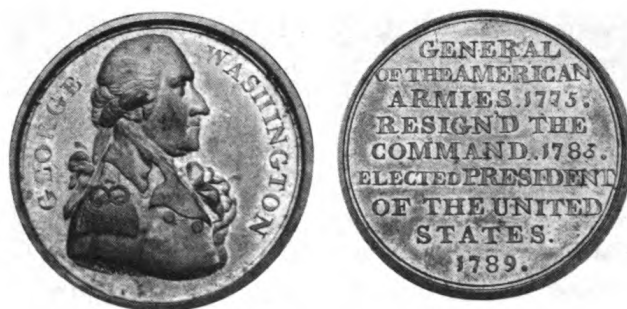


FIGURE 9. Twigg medal, 1787 (B65).

cents by Hancock and the Wyon medals that are described below. This is one of the relatively more common of the early medals and can be found in choice condition.

The medal issued by J. Manly in 1790 (Figure 10) is the first Washington medal struck in America and a most important addition to the



FIGURE 10. Manly medal, 1790 (B61).

series (Fuld 2001a). This medal, the production of Samuel Brooks of Philadelphia (a goldsmith and seal-cutter at 29 South Front St.), was published in that city by Jacques Manly in March 1790. There was an advertisement announcing its appearance in *The Pennsylvania Packet and Daily Advertiser*, March 3, 1790 (Baker 61): "It included a certificate dated February 22, 1790, by Thomas Mifflin, Governor of Pennsylvania; Richard Peters, Speaker of the House of Assembly; Christian

Febiger, Treasurer of the State; and Francis Johnston, Colonel of the Army declaring the portrait on the medal to be 'a strong and expressive likeness and worthy the attention of the citizens of the United States of America'. The advertisement also states that 'to subscribers a medal will be delivered of fine white metal, to resemble silver, for one dollar; of a fine gold colored metal for two dollars; of fine silver, for four dollars; and of gold, in proportion to weight'" (Baker 1965: 40). The only gold specimen now known is in the Appleton Collection at the MHS.

The head on this piece was executed in all probability, from a model furnished by Joseph Wright, who painted a portrait of Washington from life, at Philadelphia, in 1784, which was well known at the time and approved of as a likeness, and [he] is said to have also taken a cast from the face, from which he produced a bust. The medal, rather rude in execution, represents Washington as quite aged (Baker 1965: 40).

In the late 1950s Maurice Gould obtained for the author a truly amazing additional certificate complementing the one quoted in the Packet advertiser. It was a letter, written in French (Figure 11) and beautifully mounted with engraved portraits of Washington and Lafayette on either side. When this item was sold at public auction, it was further described as "a previously unknown document which authenticates the Manly medal portrait with an impact greater than the advertisement cited by Baker, for it is signed by two of the most prominent men of the time: Marquis de Lafayette and the Governor of New York State, not to overlook the additional signatures of the Mayor of New York City and the Vice Consul of France for the U.S.A. The 1791 dates on this document explain why it was not used in the 1790 advertisements. If it was used in Manly medal advertisements at a later date is a question which is at present unanswered" (Bowers & Merena 1976).

The document in French is translated as follows:

To all magistrates and other persons to whom this (document) will present itself: We, the undersigned, certify that we have seen the medal executed by Jacques Manley [sic] of his excellency George Washington, otherwise known as the General of the American Armies and at present President of the United States, and



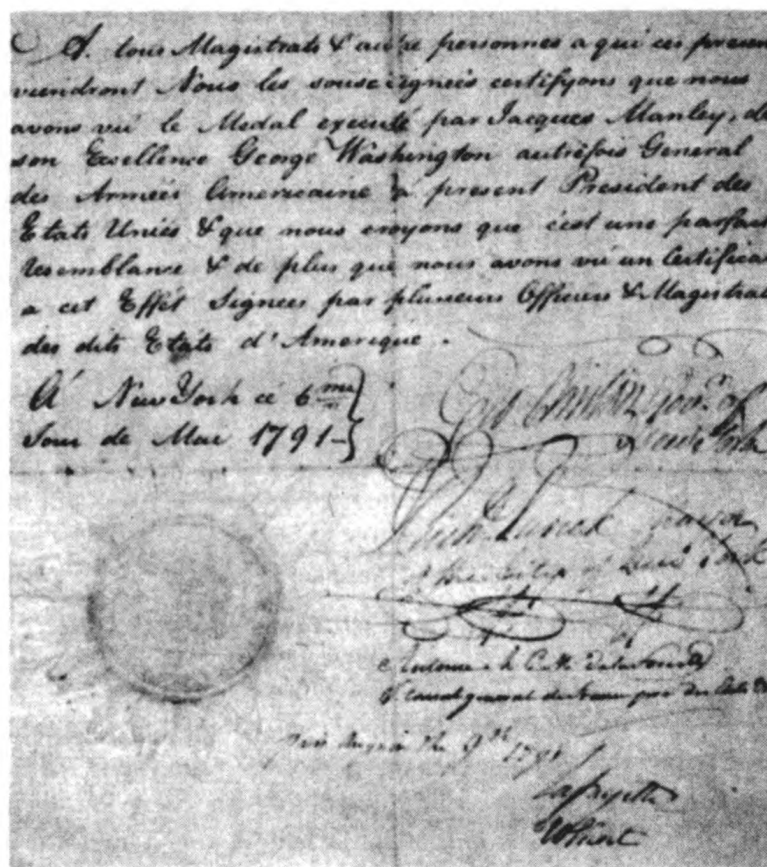


FIGURE 11. DOCUMENT AUTHENTICATING MANLY MEDAL.

that we believe that it bears a perfect resemblance of all we have seen (in person of Washington); a certificate to this effect signed by many officers and magistrates of the several United States of America. At New York, this, 6<sup>th</sup> day of May 1791. (Signed by various officials, including George Clinton.) Paris, August the 9<sup>th</sup>, 1791. (Signed by Lafayette and another official).

Gould never revealed where this fine historical document was found, but presumably it was from the Boston area. It hung for many years as the centerpiece in the author's living room.

Five specimens are known in silver, perhaps that many in white metal, and well over twenty-five in bronze. There is a second obverse



medal strongly resembling the original Manly medal, struck about 1850–1858. It is listed as Baker 62 and was probably commissioned by London coin dealer W. S. Lincoln & Son using the identical reverse of the original medal.

The sixth intriguing “lifetime medal”, B33 (Figure 12), is an issue by Peter Getz of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, dated 1796. Snowden first



FIGURE 12. Getz medal of 1796 (B33).

listed this production as a Mint-owned medal, but it was actually the property of H. Drumheller of Pennsylvania (Snowden 1861). This unique medal, shown by a line engraving in Snowden, remained unknown to numismatists until 1960 when it was found in the St. Louis area by Louis Karp. It was lent for study to Eric P. Newman and the author, and a paper was published in the *Numismatic Scrapbook Magazine* (Fuld and Newman 1961a) with a copy appearing in the CNL (Fuld and Newman 1961b). Fuld and Newman concluded that this was very similar to the Getz half-dollar of 1792, but dated 1796 and struck over an 8 reales of Mexico. They felt that its intent was as a medal and not as a coin.

Further study on this piece was undertaken by Hodder (Hodder 1989) when the piece was sold in a Bowers & Merena sale in 1989 as lot 31. He noted: “The exact nature of this piece, and whether it had any intended currency value, is also uncertain. Its weight is far too heavy for the standard Half Dollar (208 gns.), while it is too light for the standard dollar (416 gns.) even given the higher fineness of the undertype. A very likely occasion for the dating of this piece, one

which accords well with the obverse date, would be the period following September 17, 1796, when George Washington delivered his Farewell Address to the People of the United States. His farewell, resigning the Presidency to a successor, occasioned considerable public sentiment at the time. The speech was inserted at length into many state legislative journals, and numerous resolutions of appreciation of Washington's voluntary resignation of the Presidency were passed. It is quite likely that this piece was manufactured, probably by Peter Getz, as a celebratory medal recognizing Washington's selfless devotion to the new American republic."

Hodder further wrote "The obverse bears a uniformed bust left of Washington, with inscription (G.) Washington President. 1796. This is the same Washington bust that appears on the Getz pieces of Baker 24, but the letters were entered into the die using different punches. An inner circle of scalloped ornamentation was added after striking, also using a single punch repeatedly...while it cannot be known with certainty if the maker of this piece was Peter Getz (died 1804), it is certainly from his obverse Washington bust punch and his half dollar reverse die. We note the one 1792-dated copper Washington Half Dollar is known struck over a 1794/5 U.S. large cent, with edge device showing (Breen 1988, N.1356). This present piece is the same... reverse die state as the overstrike on the large cent, showing heavy rust at A of STATES, around the bird's head, and some stars."

As the date on this piece is not an alteration from 1792 and is a different obverse die altogether, without the presidential number, it appears, considering the die state, that it was struck after the 1792 pieces (Baker 24) without President I in this die. Besides appearing in the ANA sale (Kelly 1962), the piece was resold in a Kagin sale (Kagin 1975), later in the Victoria-Kissell sale (Bowers & Merena 1989), and most recently in the Collins Stack's sale (Stack's 1996).

The next piece issued, the 1796 Repub. Ameri. medal (or token) B68 (Figure 13), is listed as a controversial token "coin" by several authorities. However most previous authors have called it a medal. Dalton and Hamer list the piece (Dalton and Hamer 1977) as Middlesex 245, Breen (1988) as Breen 1276, and Fuld as WA.1796.2 (Fuld 1993). Its inclusion as a coin is mainly based on the piece sold in the Chapman sale 1914, lot 607, with the edge reading **PAYABLE IN LONDON LIVER-**



FIGURE 13. Repub. Ameri medal, 1796 (B68).

**POOL OR ANGLESEY.** For the present purpose, following both Baker and Raymond, we are calling this a medal. Most pieces are found in pristine condition, with sharp edges and with all the appearances of a medal rather than a coin.

The famed Getz Masonic medal of 1797 (Figure 14) shows a portrait of Washington, with a reverse proclaiming **G.W.G.G.M.**, commemo-



FIGURE 14. Getz Masonic medal, 1797 (B288).

rating the election of Washington by the Pennsylvania Grand Lodge as the General Grand Master of the United States. This action did not meet with favor in other Grand Lodges in the United States, so the title Grand Master for the entire country never came into general use. However, Peter Getz, himself a Mason, of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, engraved this handsome medal dated 1797 using the same bust hub as on the Getz half dollar (B24) and the B33 piece alluded to previously. The portrait on this medal is copied from the portrait drawn in the winter of 1778-79 at Philadelphia by Pierre Eugène du Simitière, a cultured Swiss gentlemen who settled there in 1766. The du Simitière

original (possibly only a sketch) is no longer in existence but is known from engravings from it published in Madrid (1781), at Paris, and at London (1783).

The few known brass pieces are usually struck with an engrailed edge. A silver specimen appeared in the Garrett sale (Bowers & Ruddy 1980) as lot 1837, and a plain-edge silver piece was reported in the Bushnell sale (Chapman 1882) as lot 1301. There are also uniface shell strikings (Figure 15) of this piece, generally assumed to be snuff box covers.



FIGURE 15. Getz uniface shell, 1797 (B288a).

The next medal, by Thomas Wyon of England, was issued in 1797. This medal, B 66 (Figure 16), shows a signed bust facing left, with only the obverse inscription **GEORGE WASHINGTON**. The reverse in nine lines concludes with **RESIGN'D 1797**. It is relatively common compared to the other Wyon medals that follow under the period 1800 series. This medal only occurs in white metal.



FIGURE 16. Wyon medal, 1797 (B66).

The final group of medals issued during Washington's lifetime comprises the three "Season's Medals" (Figures 17, 18, 19) ordered by the Secretary of War, James McHenry, on 10 October 1796. He asked Rufus King, US Minister to Great Britain, to have them struck in England. The designs were sketched by an American artist, John Trumbull, then in London, and the dies cut by Conrad H. Kuchler, a Belgian working for Matthew Boulton. The medals were struck, after much delay, by Boulton and Watt in Birmingham. Most medals were issued with small loops for attachment.



FIGURE 17. Seasons medal "The Shepherd", 1798 (B170).



FIGURE 18. Seasons medal "The Farmer", 1798 (B171).



FIGURE 19. Seasons medal "The Family", 1798 (B172).

In all, 500 pieces in silver and 200 in copper were ordered of all of the types. All but 51 of the silver and 21 in copper were to be pierced. Actually "piercing" apparently meant the attachment of a small loop, as seen on many remaining medals. In July 1798 the War Department received 326 silver medals and an unknown quantity of copper ones. Prucha states that no records can be found to see if all the original 700 medals were delivered (Prucha 1971). The medals were presented to Indian chiefs during the presidency of John Adams, and the remainders were presented by the Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804–1806 during the term of Thomas Jefferson.

There are three known silver proof sets (ANS, British Museum, and Royal Bank of Canada *ex* J. Douglas Ferguson). A double proof set in the original case of issue with both silver and copper medals (six in all) was part of the Brand sale (Bowers & Merena 1984). It is noteworthy that the WWC Wilson sale (Raymond 1925) had only superb electrotypes of these medals. A single solid silver specimen of "The Family" B172 sold in the LaRiviere sale for \$29,900 in November 1999 as lot 3111. Probably some of these proofs were from the requested unpierced portion of the order. It is an open question if the "proofs" were a special striking or even restriking at a later period.

The scenes on the three medals depict Washington in three stages, the Shepherd, the Farmer, and the Family, and are artistically pleasing. Since the order for the medals did not specify, one must

assume that one third of the order was devoted to each of the three types. This is borne out by the fact that they are of the same relative scarcity.

Table 2 lists the balance of the early Washington medals starting with the funeral issues, until the death of Lafayette in 1834. When Washington died on 14 December 1799 there was a rush to commemo-

TABLE 2. Chronology of Washington Medals Issued 1799 to 1834

Name	Baker Number	Date on Medal	Actual Date of Issue
Victor Sine Claude Funeral	164	1799	1800
Perkins Funeral Medals			
Skull & Crossbones	165	1799	1800
Funeral Urn	166	1799	1800
GW on base	167	1799	1800
Oval with Indian	168	1799	1800
Gold Oval Shell	169	1799	1800
Roman bust silver shell	163	ND	1800-1810
Repub. Ameri on death	69	ND	1800
Similar to obv. B68, same rev.			
Eleven Line Wyon	67	1798	1798
Eleven Line Wyon variety	67a	1798	1798
Eleven Line Wyon variety	67b	1798	1798
Hero of Freedom	79	1800	1800
Westwood I	80	1800	1800
Westwood II	81	1800	1800
Westwood shell unique	82	1800	1800
Emancipator of America	83	ND	1801
Fame Medal	84	1803	1803
Eccleston Medal	85	1805	1805
CCAUS Peace Medal	57	1783	1805
American Beaver	54	1776	1807
Sansom Medal	71	1797	1807
Washington & Franklin	58	1783	1808
Benevolent Society	327	1808	1808
Birth & Death I	129	ND	1810-20

Birth & Death II	129a	ND	1810-20
Halliday Medal	70	1797	1816
Market Chowder Club	338	1818	1818
Series Numismatica Bacon	130	1819	1819
Series Numismatica	131	1819	1819
WASHINGTON			
Corrected legend	132	1819	1819
Washington & Lafayette	198	1824	1824
Wright & Bale I	74	1799	1829-33
Wright & Bale II	75	1799	1829-33
Centennial Medal	160	1832	1832
CCAUS Centennial	160F	1832	1832
Centennial Shell	161	1832	1832
Conradt Medal	162	1832	1832
with WASHINGTON	162a	1832	1832
Thomas Medal	163	1832	1832
Par Nobile Fratrum Lafayette	197	(1829-33)	
Par Nobile Fratrum Franklin	202	(1829-33)	1834-6
Lafayette-Franklin Mule	203	(1829-33?)	1834-6
American Eagle	55	1834	1834
Death of Lafayette	196	1834	1834

rate his death both in the United States and in Canada. Jacob Perkins of Newburyport, Massachusetts, was able to produce a series of medals so rapidly that the B165 "skull and crossbones" medals were worn in the Masonic parade with 1,600 brethren on 11 February 1800 commemorating his death. The legend **HE IS IN GLORY, THE WORLD IN TEARS** is utilized on all the funeral medals that follow, through B169. The massive civic parade was held on 22 February 1800 and utilized the B166 funeral urn medals as discussed by W. S. Baker. However, Angel Pietri has strongly suggested that the funeral urn design was used for the Masonic parade on 11 February, as evidenced by contemporary newspaper accounts and the Paul Revere funeral urn now preserved by the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts (Pietri 1999). In addition, he suggests that the skull and crossbones type (B165) proved unpopular because of its symbolism, which may well account for its relative rarity. The medals were designed by Dudley A. Tyng, the



Customs Collector at Newburyport. The first funeral medal (Figure 20), probably only a pattern, is the *Victor Sine Claude* medal (58 mm)



FIGURE 20. Victor Sine Claude funeral medal, 1800 (B164).

engraved by Nicholas Pearce. It has Washington facing left in a funeral wreath, and the reverse shows a funeral urn on a pedestal altar with the inscription **VICTOR SINE CLAUDE**. Most survivors of this white-metal piece are in horrible condition, with only two or three known in fine or better. In the late 1940s, when David Bullova acquired a massive bookcase from the Chapman estate, a locked drawer at the bottom, when opened, had a large number of late Washington medals. Most were from the period 1876 to 1889 in choice condition. However, there were four or five Victor Sine Claude medals, two of which were respectable, one being obtained by the author. This is perhaps the only known unholed example (sold at B & M LaRiviere sale November 1999 as lot 3102 at \$5,980). This somewhat massive medal may not have been issued in quantity, as unlike the Perkins pieces, it was too heavy to be strung and worn around the neck.

The wide distribution and issuance of the Perkins Funeral Medals is evidenced by the fact that there are no less than thirteen distinct varieties known, and various ones exist in gold, silver, white metal, and copper. Probably the first in use was the "skull and crossbones" design (Figure 21)



FIGURE 21. Skull and Crossbones funeral medal, 1800 (B165).

for the Masonic parade on 11 February 1800, which proved unpopular, as noted by Pietri. As a general type of the regular issue, it is perhaps one tenth as common as the more common “funeral urn” type (B166), which was undoubtedly first used in the Masonic parade of 11 February and more widely used in the civil parade of 22 February 1800. Two die varieties are known of the skull and crossbones type, using two different obverses. The one known as 2-A<sup>2</sup> is extremely rare. Only two are known in gold, the Garrett specimen and one in the Norweb estate *ex* Bushnell lot 1311. When the Garrett specimen was resold in 1992 (Stack’s 1992) as lot 82, it realized \$51,000, a record price. The white metal and silver pieces are of about equal rarity, while one in copper *ex* Fuld is apparently unique. A gold specimen of the urn type, B166, recently sold at the B & M LaRiviere sale November 1999, lot 3104, for \$23,000 *ex* Fuld, Picker June 1968. Certainly there are about fifteen of the B166 medals known in gold.

The funeral urn design (Figures 22 and 23) is the type most commonly met. There are six obverse dies of the regular urn type, and four reverse types with the regular urn, plus two rare “pattern”



FIGURE 22. Urn-type funeral medal in gold, 1800 (B166).



FIGURE 23. Urn-type funeral medal in silver, 1800 (B166).

reverses with "GW" on the base of the urn, B167 (Figure 24). The late Richard Picker and the author studied these die varieties, and a die-combination chart is shown in Figure 25 (Rulau and Fuld 1999).



FIGURE 24. Urn-type funeral medal with GW on base, 1800 (B167).

The next two Perkins medals are oval in design. The first, B168 (Figure 26), has a funeral urn on the reverse, with GW on the bases held by a weeping female Indian with feather headdress. Obviously intended as a pattern, the discovery piece was in the Holland sale (Woodward 1878), bought by Appleton and now at the MHS. The second specimen, in horrible condition, was found in Boston by Maurice Gould about 1958 and acquired by the author. The same specimen was Stack's Collins 153, *ex* Fuld, Picker, Patterson, McTieman, and presently David Hirsch (Stack's 1996). The last of the Perkins medals is the uniface oval shell with similar legends (Figure 27), all struck in gold (except for two specimens known in copper). The author had the privilege of meeting with the direct descendants of Jacob Perkins in the spring of 1959. They owned a gold specimen of B169 in an ornate case representing Masonic affiliation. They sold the author the medal itself but donated the lovely case to the local historical society. Margaret W.

Brown (1954) wrote a detailed article on these oval gold pieces in *The Numismatist*, with supplementary articles by Michael B. Zeddies (1954) and Max M. Schwartz (1954). Eight specimens of this medal are known, one of which had jeweled pearls surrounding it. These shells have achieved high auction prices in recent years (a recent sale was at B & M LaRiviere November 1999, lot 3108).

The final funeral medal is in form of a 65-mm silver shell, B173 (Figure 28). It was classed as a peace medal by Baker, but more properly appears to be a funeral issue. It shows a bust of Washington in a Roman mantle above an altar, with his birth and death dates below in exergue. These pieces had no auction appearances until 1990 (Bowers & Merena 1990). Six pieces are now known, including ones at the ANS and the MHS. Undated, it is assumed to be of the period 1800–10 and is a rather handsome medal. In a recent publication, Neuzil (1999) lists this piece in his appendix as No. 41, Die IO-1. He states this is clearly a medal by Moritz Fürst, the allegorical figures duplicating his style on other medals. Apparently this medal is mentioned in a catalogue of an art exhibit in Philadelphia in 1817 and noted but not identified by Chamberlain (Chamberlain 1954). He feels that it was modeled after the Washington Benevolent Society medal dated 1808—but the Benevolent medal could have been modeled after the B173.

The Repub. Ameri medal, B69 (also Breen 1278, Fuld WA.1800.1; Figure 29), is very similar to the B68 issue, but instead of the date 1796 on the obverse, it has born-died dates. It has the same questionable interpretation, whether to be called a token-coin or a medal. It is undoubtedly by Thomas Wyon, but not signed.

The Wyon issues of 1800, issued after the death of Washington, are an enigma. Three Wyon medals issued about 1800, all with an eleven-line reverse, are all extremely rare, with one of the varieties being unique. The obverse bust on all of the medals is very similar, all being signed **WYON** on the truncation of the bust. The first variety, B67 (Figure 30), has a similar obverse to B66, with **BORN-DIED** below the bust in exergue. This is the piece described in Baker. Five examples of B67 have been traced: a specimen in the Baker collection at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP); the Norweb specimen; LaRiviere lot 3029 (Bowers & Merena 1999) *ex* Presidential sale no. 20 lot 1113 (Presidential 1976); Garrett lot 1758 (Bowers & Ruddy 1981) to

## Die Combinations Seen

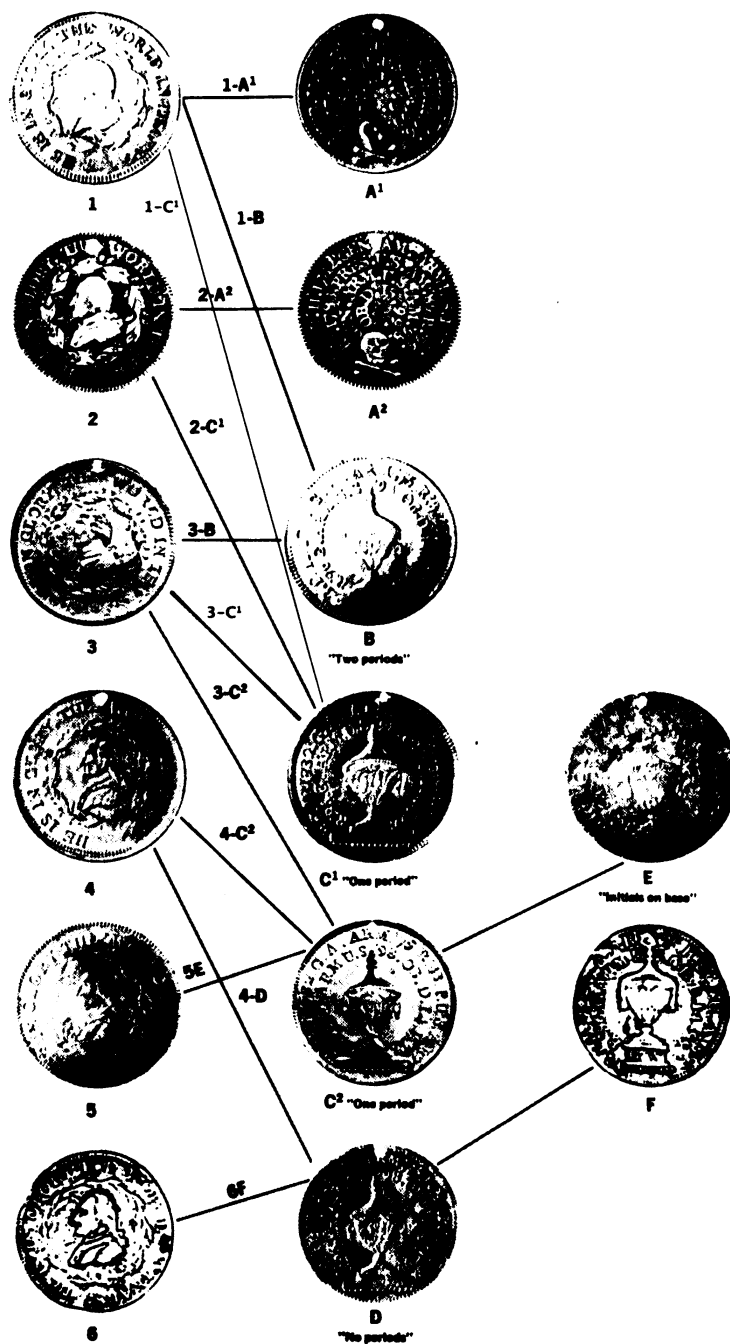


FIGURE 25. Die combination chart of B165-167 medals (courtesy of Krause Publications).

Baker 165, Skull and Crossbones. Obverse 1. Double berry under right side of W of WORLD. Also berry under center of H of THE. This is the commonly met obverse of the Skull and Crossbones type.

Baker 165, Skull and Crossbones, Reverse A1. Standard legend. Notable features: First 7 of 1775 over center of R in AM.'89.R.'96. Also, right side of M of AM.'98 under left side of leg of R in AM.'89.R.'96. This die is remarkably similar to the die A2 that follows.

Obverse 2. Two berries at 12 o'clock, one between E of THE and W of WORLD, and one under left side of W. Small period after TEARS.

Reverse A2. Remarkably similar to A1, but some spacing changes on right. The first 7 of 1775 is well to the right of center of the R in AM.'89.R.'96. Right side of M of AM.'98 under left leg of R.

Obverse 1. E of HE higher than H. First berry under space between IS. Upper left serif of Y slants upward. Die break: rim through left serif of T through wreath towards eye center of denticle just touching tips of inner and outer leaves and crossing center of middle leaf.

Obverse 2. HE touch at base. E slightly lower than H, most noticeable at tops of letters. First berry under right side of upright of E. Comma after Y is too high. Upper left serif of H of THE overlaps right top of T. N of second IN is upside down, and slightly higher than I.

Obverse 3. Very similar to no. 2. HE touch at base and are even with each other in height. First berry just past upright of E. Comma after Y in correct lower position. H and E of THE lean to the right. The lower left serif of E overlaps the lower right serif of H. Crossbar of H slants upward. Serif of crossbar of E is double-cut. N of second IN is upside down and even with I.

Obverse 4. Lower left upright of H of HE is double-cut. E is higher than H. First berry under lower right edge of E. Crossbar of H of THE is unfinished. Lower left serif of E overlaps lower right serif of H as in no. 2. In TEARS, T lower than E and close to it. E lower than A, which is too large and distant from it.

Obverse 5. Obverse of GW-on-base patterns; only worn specimens observed. Apparently similar central bead and wreath, but no obvious berries showing. Single large leaf to right of I of IN. Another long leaf below center of O of GLORY.

Obverse 6. Other obverse of GW-on-base pattern; only one specimen observed. Also no apparent berries. Double leaf below left side of I of IN, long leaf below R of GLORY rather than under O.

Reverse B. Periods after U and S left of top of urn in second circular line. Tops of both 8's of first line are open and double-cut. Last 9 of first line is merged with the base. Lower leg of 4 in second line is over a period. Die break develops from rim over B from top third of F through period, bases of II, tail of 7, lower part of 3, and through center of 2. Lower loops of 3's are partly squared off.

Reverse C1. Period after U, no period after S, left of the top of urn in second circular line. First period just touches base of F. II touch at bottom and all but touch at top. Bottom of last 9 of first line points to lower portion of 8 and almost touches it. Bottom loops of 3's are round. Top of 1 of 1799 in second line slightly below left top of 7.

Reverse C2. Period after U, no period after S, left of the top of urn in second circular line. First period is evenly spaced between B and F. II is properly sepa-

- rated, the second being slightly recut, noticeable mostly at the left base and right top. Bottom of last 9 of first line points just below 8 and is well separated from it. Bottom loops of 3's are squared off. Top of 1 of 1799 in second line is very slightly above the left top of 7 (this does not show in photo due to shadow).
- Reverse D. No period after U or S, left of the top of urn in the second circular line. 2 of 1732 is recut in the proper position after having first been cut too high. The last 8 in the first line is recut, and a thin engraver's scratch protrudes from the bottom of it in a slanting position. The last 9 in the first line is merged with the base. First R in second line is merged with the period. The lower serif of S is recut. The lower loops of the 3's are squared off.
- Reverse E. GW on base. Lettering apparently identical to Reverses B, C, and D, but urn shorter and top below S of U.S. Has two periods as on Reverse B, but no script GW on urn, but block letters GW on base. Only available specimen is worn but mostly legible.
- Reverse F. GW on base. Similar to E, but top of urn bisects the U and there is no period after U, one after S. The GW on base is smaller than on Reverse E. The letter on right is quite far from base. Only a single specimen seen, ANA sale 1981 by Bowers & Ruddy, lot 2650.



FIGURE 26. Oval Indian Princess funeral medal, 1800 (B168, courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society).



FIGURE 27. Oval funeral medal shell in gold, 1800 (B169).



FIGURE 28. Silver shell funeral issue, c. 1800–1810 (B173).



FIGURE 29. Repub. Ameri medal, 1800 (B69).



FIGURE 30. Eleven-line Wyon, 1800 (B67).



Steinberg lot 27 (Stack's 1992) to Collins lot 53 (Stack's 1996) to Presidential no. 60 lot 158 (Presidential 1996); a fifth copy is in the Ford collection. The Fuld specimen (Baker 1965) is untraced and might be the Ford copy.

The first new variety, B67a (Figure 31), was illustrated by Raymond (Raymond 1941) and has the legend **WASH** starting directly over the



FIGURE 31. Eleven-line Wyon, 1800 (B67a).

head. This piece passed from Raymond to Ford to Fuld and was illustrated by Baker (1965). Another specimen of this type is in the Norweb collection. The Norweb estate has a different combination, denoted as B67b, with an eleven-line reverse with different spacing (Figure 32) from B67 and B67a, which have identical reverses—it is also the only reported specimen of this variety (Fuld 2002b).



FIGURE 32. Eleven-line Wyon, 1800 (B67b, courtesy of the Norweb Trust).

The Hero of Freedom medal, B79 (Figure 33), dated 1800 and made in England, has the reverse inscription **THE HERO / OF FREEDOM / THE**



FIGURE 33. Hero of Freedom medal, 1800 (B79).

**PRIDE OF / HIS COUNTRY / AND ORNAMENT / OF HUMAN / NATURE / 1800.** It is not a rare medal, the regular issue being in bronze and white metal, although three or four specimens are known in silver. The engraver may well have been James Sharples. A specimen in silver from the Fuld Collection appeared in the Glendining sale of October 1968 as lot 231 and sold for £210.

The two medals engraved by Westwood, B80 and B81 (Figures 34 and 35), utilize a bust unlike any other, showing Washington with a somewhat puffy face. The regular issue was in bronze. A few white-metal and fire-gilt specimens are also known.



FIGURE 34. Westwood medal I, 1800 (B80).



FIGURE 35. Westwood medal II, 1800 (B81).

The Westwood shell B82 is known only from a specimen in the Wood sale (Chapman 1894), now in the Norweb estate (Figure 36). As described by Baker, it has a head similar to B79, in a wreath, inscribed around: **GEORGE WASHINGTON**. No other specimen has been reported.



FIGURE 36. Westwood shell (B82, courtesy of the Norweb Trust).

The Emancipator Of America medal, B83 (Figure 37), was unique in the Appleton Collection at the MHS until a specimen was discovered by Collins in the middle 1990s. The head is very similar to B79 but larger, and must be considered a pattern issue.

The Fame medal, B84 (Figure 38), has the legend **WISDOM VIRTUE & PATRIOTISM** with Fame flying over land and sea blowing a trumpet. There is a vessel in the distance and the sun on the horizon. In exergue on the reverse is the date **MDCCCIII**. It is a rather handsome medal



FIGURE 37. Emancipator of America, c. 1800–1810 (B83, courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society).



FIGURE 38. Fame medal, 1803 (B84).

which is decidedly rare; although normally in bronze, two are known in white metal (a white-metal specimen sold at B & M LaRiviere November 1999, lot 3088, at \$5,290).

The Eccleston medal B85 (Figure 39), dated 1805, is perhaps the largest and most handsome of the early medals. It has an armored bust of Washington facing right, with a detailed reverse including **INSCRIBED TO HIS MEMORY BY D. ECCLESTON, LANCASTER**. It is 76 millimeters in diameter and normally occurs in bronze. A single specimen in lead or white metal is housed at the MHS. The Norweb estate boasts a fire gilt specimen. There also exists a Conder token, D&H Lancashire 56 (Figure 40), which has a portrait of Eccleston on it.



FIGURE 39. Eccleston medal, 1805 (B85).



FIGURE 40. D. Eccleston Conder token.

The lovely CCAUS medal, B57 (Figure 41), was published by Joseph Sansom, engraved by John Reich, and struck at the US Mint. The



FIGURE 41. CCAUS medal, 1805 (B57).

obverse shows Washington in a military uniform with bust facing left. The initials stand for "Commander in Chief of the Army of the United States". The reverse shows an eagle flying with lightning bolt emitting from his talons over a globe view of the United States; at top is 1783. The medal was advertised for sale in the *United States Gazette* (Philadelphia) for 25 December 1805 as follows:

A medal worthy of the illustrious Washington has been executed in Philadelphia by a German artist (John Reich) upon the designs of a person of taste, under the inspection of the Director of the Mint, the librarian of the Philosophical Society and other gentlemen of professional ability or acknowledged judgement. Proof impressions in gold and silver are now submitted to public examination at the



book store of John Conrad & Co. where subscriptions will be received for the same in gold 50 dollars silver at 5." (Baker 1885)

No impressions in gold have ever been reported. One of the few auction appearances of this medal in silver was the Fuld specimen, sold in the Glendining sale of October 1968, lot 243, for £220 to LaRiviere, B & M LaRiviere November 1999, lot 3047, at \$27,600.

The second early US Mint medal struck in 1807, designed by John Reich, is the American Beaver issue, B 54 (Figure 42), backdated to



FIGURE 42. American Beaver medal, 1807 (B54).

1776. It shows conjoined busts of Franklin and Washington. The reverse shows an American beaver gnawing at the over-shadowed English oak. This piece and a similar one showing only Franklin were presented to two survivors of the Continental Congress of 1776, George Clymer and Dr. Benjamin Rush, on 1 December 1807. They normally come in bronze, with only two or three known in silver. All the beaver medals were published by Joseph Sansom of Philadelphia.

The third Sansom medal of the series, also engraved by John Reich, is the **COMMISS. RESIGNED, PRESIDENCY RELINQ. / 1797** issue, first issued in 1807 and listed as B71 (Figure 43). The original issue has the "Q" of "RELINQ" very close to the horizontal line of the exergue. It is a very limited issue, as the reverse die must have failed early in its use. About twelve to fifteen are known in silver, the regular issue is in bronze, and a few are known in white metal. A new reverse die was cut around 1860 with the "Q" far from base, and medals were struck at the Mint until recent years in golden bronze.



FIGURE 43. Presidency Relinq., 1797 (B71).

The last Sansom medal, B58 (Figure 44), shows conjoined busts of Franklin and Washington with the same reverse as the CCAUS medal.



FIGURE 44. Franklin and Washington conjoined busts, 1808 (B58).

It was also struck at the US Mint in 1808 and normally comes in bronze. There are two or three known in silver. There is an unique die trial in a large ring in a lead encasement, and also a single copy is known in white metal. A rare appearance of this medal in silver was the Fuld specimen in the Glendining sale of October 1968 as lot 242 for £210 to LaRiviere, B & M LaRiviere November 1999, lot 3048, at \$18,400.

The Benevolent Society issue of 1808, B 327 (Figure 45), a 34-millimeter medal by John Reich, was probably struck at the US Mint. The issue is only known in silver, and all were originally issued with a loop for attachment at the top. It is not a rare medal; perhaps 50 copies are known. The Benevolent Society was founded in New York in 1808





FIGURE 45. Benevolent Society medal, 1808 (B327).

with charitable purpose, but starting about 1812 they became essentially a Federalist party organ, quietly opposing the war with Great Britain and passing out of existence about 1820.

Little is known about the Birth and Death medal, B129 (Figure 46), but from its workmanship it must have been issued in the period of 1810-20 only in white metal. The medal's portrait was inspired by the painting by Gilbert Stuart and was made in England.



FIGURE 46. Birth and Death medal, c. 1810-1820 (B129).

Another medal, similar in nature to the above but with a facing portrait of Washington, B129A (Figure 47), is apparently, from its fabric, very early nineteenth-century in origin. The bust faces three-quarters to the left, an unusual portrait. Only two specimens are



FIGURE 47. Birth and Death medal, c. 1810-1820 (unlisted).

known, one at the ANS and one *ex* Fuld, LaRiviere to B & M LaRiviere November 1999, lot 3096, at \$5,520.

The large Halliday medal, B70 (Figure 48), is modeled after the Sansom medals, but in an expanded format of 54 millimeters with a strong resemblance to the B71 issue. It was struck in England by Thomas Halliday about 1816. It is a most impressive medal, with only one genuine copy known in silver, owned by John Ford, Jr., *ex* Max Schwartz, Fuld, Picker. Baker calls this the most important of the military and civil career medals.



FIGURE 48. Halliday medal, 1816 (B70).

Little is known of the Washington Market Chowder Club issue of 1818, B318 (Figure 49). The Washington Market was a large open-air market in New York erected in 1771 on Dey Street at the river, which



FIGURE 49. Washington Market Chowder Club, 1818 (B318).

became known as the Washington Market in 1812. The club may have been a fraternal group or singing group, but its exact nature has never been determined. The unique gold specimen sold in the Garrett sale for \$25,000. Four copies are known in silver, one at the ANS and one in the Norweb estate. Copies in copper, bronze, and white metal were in the Witham collection.

The Series Numismatica issue dated 1819, B130 (Figure 50), was part of an extensive series of medals issued in France honoring famous men. They were initiated around 1815 and continued into the 1820s. The first medal has a naked bust of Washington facing right, signed **BACON SCULP.** It is normally found in bronze, with a unique specimen in silver *ex Fuld*. A few copies are known in white metal. It was restruck by the Paris Mint about 1842-3 with an edge marking showing a prow of a ship.



FIGURE 50. Series Numismatica medal, Bacon F., 1819 (B130).

A similar medal but with a large naked bust of Washington facing left, B131 (Figure 51), also dated 1819, is signed VIVIER F. in exergue.



FIGURE 51. Series Numismatica medal WASINGTON, Vivier F., 1819 (B131).

The first issue has the error **WASINGTON** on the obverse, being only slightly rarer than the following corrected-legend issue, B132 (Figure 52), which is virtually identical to the preceding, made from the same hub but with a new die.



FIGURE 52. Series Numismatica medal, corrected spelling, 1819 (B132).

The Washington and Lafayette medalette B198 (Figure 53) was issued on the occasion of Lafayette's visit to the United States in 1824. This small medal is generally thought to have been engraved by C. C. Wright, but John Kleeberg (1999) has recently suggested that this is unlikely and that Joseph Lewis may be a more plausible candidate. It was issued in silver and white metal with a loop attached for



FIGURE 53. Washington-Lafayette medalette, 1824 (B198).

wearing. Its wide popularity can be attested to by the large number of overstrikes on US Large Cents as well as a few on half dollars and other silver coins (Figures 53a and 53b). The overstrikes are more common than the original silver medal. Lafayette was greeted as the



FIGURE 53a. Washington-Lafayette B198 struck on half-dollar.



FIGURE 53b. Washington-Lafayette B198 struck on large cent.

returning conquering hero in 1824, and many souvenirs were issued in his honor. A fine exposition on this counterstamp was given by Q. David Bowers (Bowers 1999). He mentions a possible mint connection to a Luigi Persico who was paid \$80 for preparing dies for “modeling a small medallion head for silver coins”. This was in December 1824 and might account for the Washington/Lafayette small medallion, rather than it being a product of C. C. Wright. If the Mint connection is proved, this might be the first “official” commemorative coin (medal?)

of the US Mint. It is surprising that the counterstamps are much more common than the small silver medalettes with loop attached, and may have been made later outside the Mint.

The Wright & Bale medals were issued in 1829–1833, the only years of the partnership. They have a naked bust to the left, with vital dates on the reverse in an oak wreath. The first type, probably issued in 1832 and listed as B74 (Figure 54), is quite scarce and occurs in



FIGURE 54. Wright & Bale I, 1834 (B74).

silver, white metal, lead, and bronze. The second type, with a slightly different reverse, B75 (Figure 55), also occurs in silver, white metal, and bronze. Some specimens are known with a blank reverse. On B74, the exergue legend **WRIGHT & BALE** is quite clear, and several blank reverses are known with this obverse. On the B75 issue the name is partially tooled out.



FIGURE 55. Wright & Bale II, 1834 (B75).



The centennial of Washington's birth in 1832 occasioned a number of medals in his honor, the only "common" one being the B160 issue (Figure 56) for the Philadelphia Civic Procession. Originals in silver are quite rare, while the white-metal copies are more common. Many were restruck about 1860, but the reverse die cracked early. A few in copper with no die break remain.



FIGURE 56. Birth Centennial medal, 1832 (B160).

An interesting lead cast medal (Figure 57) first appeared in the Bushnell sale of 1882, with the obverse of CCAUS (B57) and a reverse **CENTENNIAL / \*\*\* / ANNIVERSARY / 22ND FEBRUARY / 1832**. Apparently still unique, it has an auction record as comprehensive as any Washington piece: J. J. Mickley sale, 1867, lot 2385; Bushnell sale 1882, lot 1365; Gilpin sale, 1883, lot 600; Chapman May 1885 sale, lot 660; Elder sale 1926, lot 1562; Hall; Brand; NNC; Fuld; Picker; PCAC May 1997, lot 157. It was mentioned but not numbered by Baker.



FIGURE 57. CCAUS Centennial medal, 1832 (B57).

Baker lists a Tinsmith's medal, B161, as a white-metal shell. Apparently struck during the Philadelphia procession by the tin-plate workers, the die was cut into the face of a hammer. No specimen has been located in recent years.

The Conradt Medal, B162 (Figure 58), an extremely rare issue by Joseph Conradt, is also known as the "Cordwainers' medal" (Fuld



FIGURE 58. Conradt medal (MHS), 1832  
(B162, courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society).

2001b). It might be remembered that he was the person who advertised the CCAUS medal (B57) in the contemporary newspaper of 1805. The bust is signed with his name and address, an unusual occurrence. The discovery piece was sold in the Mickley sale of 1878 and went to Appleton, and is now at the MHS. A specimen appeared in the H. Chapman sale of the Parsons collection in 1914, and the Norweb estate has a specimen acquired from England. A specimen in the Nicolas Petry collection by the Chapman brothers, 10 May 1893, lot 773 (possibly the Parsons specimen) was cataloged as follows:

Bust with fine, strongly-marked features; in military costume, and draped facing right; down right side, beginning at forehead, is **WASHINGTON**. Beneath the bust in field, **CONRADT 170 N. Fourth St. R. Oak wreath enclosing THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, FEB. 22D 1832**; in six lines, beneath base of wreath. *Phila.* In. Very Fine. Pierced over head for suspension. Of excessive rarity, only one other being known to exist, and its present whereabouts is unknown; it was bought by Mr. Cogan, but for whom we know not; it was sold at the Mickley sale, 1878. It was only very



good, so this is probably the finest specimen of the two. Size 22.

This medal is not in the Petry collection, but is placed here {as an added consignment} so everyone will have an equal chance to purchase it—the man who is willing to pay the most for it will secure the prize.

On February 22, 1832, William L. Clayton, then a boy of six years of age, was standing at his father's door, Fifth Street below Buttonwood Street, Philadelphia, watching the procession in honor of Washington's Birthday pass by; when the "old coining press" came along they were striking these medals and throwing them out to the populace, the present piece was thrown to him and he caught it.

His father made a small hole in it, so he could wear it, and told him to preserve it as a memento of the occasion, and it has remained in his possession to the present time, highly prized. It is strange that it should be one of the only two known specimens, and until this appeared the Mickley one considered unique. It decides that Conrardt was the die sinker or engraver of the dies, and not merely a medal to advertise himself. In the Philadelphia Directory for 1831 he is given as an engraver.

Surprisingly, the MHS specimen (Figure 58) has the portrait of Washington in a plain obverse field with no inscription. However the Petry/Parsons piece and the Norweb (Figure 59) specimen have the name **WASINGTON** [sic] on the obverse—apparently the misspelling has not been noted previously. This misspelling is the same as on the error medal Baker 131, but surely Conrardt knew the correct spelling.



FIGURE 59. Conrardt medal (Norweb), 1832 (B162a, courtesy of the Norweb Trust).

Another rare piece, the Thomas Medal B163 (Figure 60), is apparently unique and was listed as Appleton 76, and is also now at the MHS. No additional specimens of this medal have been reported.



FIGURE 60. Thomas medal, 1832  
(B163, courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society).

Two other medals, one showing Washington and Lafayette and one showing Washington and Franklin were issued by Wright and Bale, who only operated together from 1829 to 1834, and so must be included in the early series. They have a common reverse inscribed **PAR / NOBILE / FRATRUM** ("noble pair of brothers"). The first, Baker 197 (Figure 61), shows Lafayette and Washington in small busts



FIGURE 61. Par Nobile Fratrums Lafayette (B197).

facing each other, signed in exergue **W & B**. It occurs in silver (rare), copper, white metal, silvered white metal, and nickel (rare). The second medal is Baker 202 (Figure 62), which shows Franklin facing Washington in a similar pose. It occurs in silver (rare), copper, and white metal, listed as Fuld FR.M.NL.16 and Greenslet GM-75. Since this piece is only signed **BALE**, it may have been struck after 1834. There



FIGURE 62. Par Nobile Fratrum Franklin (B202).

is also a muling of the two obverses, Baker 203, Fuld FR.M.NL.17, and Greenslet GM-76 (Figure 63), which occurs in brass, copper, and white metal.



FIGURE 63. Lafayette-Franklin mule (B203).

The American Eagle Medal B55 (Figure 64) is a rather handsome medal about which little is known. It usually occurs in white metal, with several pieces being reported with an engrafted edge. There is a single copper piece *ex* Fuld. The medal was issued in 1834.



FIGURE 64. American Eagle medal, 1834 (B55).

The final medal of the early series, B196 (Figure 65), was issued on the occasion of Lafayette's death in 1834. It shows the conjoined heads of Washington, Kosciusko, and Lafayette and was issued by Borrel, signed **CERCLE BRITANNIQUE RUE NEUVE ST AUGUSTIN NO. 55 A PARIS BORREL**. It was engraved by Rogat, whose name appears in exergue. Restrikes with edge markings were made at the Paris Mint. Originals with plain edges are quite rare.



FIGURE 65. Death of Lafayette, 1834 (B196).

This journey through the early medals of Washington from the first authorized in 1776 up to the death of Lafayette in 1834 gives a series of revealing medallic portraits of our first president. In studying the illustrations of these medals, the wide variety of fabric and the equally varied images of Washington cannot be outdone in any other phase of American coinage. The historical background of many of the issues, and the occasions for which they were issued is remarkable in itself. It is no wonder that numismatists, starting in the 1850s and 1860s, collected Washington first and foremost over many other American issues.

## APPENDIX

A number of related Washington pieces may be included in the issues before 1834, but their origin is speculative. In addition, there are a few obvious issues struck much later to resemble the early issues. These issues are enumerated here.

The so-called Perkins dollar, of extreme rarity, resembles a medal more than a coin. It was illustrated in *The Standard Catalog of United States Coins* through the eighteenth edition (Raymond 1957), but never included in the *Guidebook*. The piece itself shows a military bust of Washington facing left, virtually identical to the hub used on the Perkins funeral medals. Above is the word WASHINGTON in incuse letters. Surrounding the center are engine-turning designs. It was first illustrated in the *Exhibition of United States and Colonial Coins* held at the ANS in 1914 from the collection of H. O. Granberg. It was a thin silver shell, with the reverse incuse of the obverse. Rumors abound that a solid silver piece is known. The Granberg piece was lost in the mail when sent via registered mail from Wayte Raymond to F. C. C. Boyd in the late 1950s. It is illustrated in Figure 66 and is listed as Adams-Woodin 33, noted in Judd (1959: 265), and by Pollock (1994) as 5067. It is not listed in Baker.



FIGURE 66. The Perkins dollar.

A similar piece with the same silver hub center (Figure 67) is struck on a thin silver flan, with the initials APS in script on the reverse. It was originally sold in the Parsons sale (Chapman 1914), *ex* Fuld; the present whereabouts are not known.

Another piece (Figure 68), which may be contemporary, shows the Perkins funeral medal bust struck on a large cent of the date 1796–1807 (but unreadable). It was formerly in the Fuld collection; Altman-Hoffner sale (Pine Tree Auction Company), April 29–30, 1975, lot 762; Steinberg sale (Stack's 1992) lot 89. It was first illustrated in Fuld's revision of Baker (1965).



FIGURE 67. Funeral die hub on silver flan.

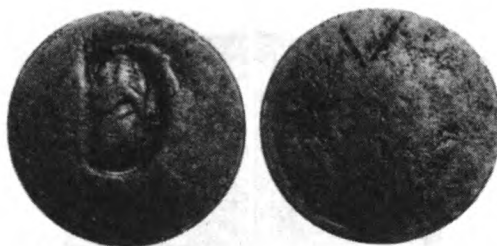


FIGURE 68. Funeral hub on large cent.

There are a number of counterstamped silver coins with the initials **GW** in a box—there is no way to link these to Washington. Figure 69 shows an 1803 bust dollar with the GW counterstamp as an example.

FIGURE 69. **GW** counterstamp on 1803 dollar.

There are a number of dimes with a very small bust of Washington stamped on the obverse as shown in Figure 70. It is conjectural whether this might have been issued for Lafayette's visit in 1824.



FIGURE 70. Washington head on 1829 dime.

There is a bust of Washington cut out of silver, soldered to a silver flan strongly resembling the Wright & Bale medals of 1834, similar to the illustration shown by Belden (1927: 43, plate 21). This is shown in Figure 71.



FIGURE 71. Bale head of Washington on silver flan.

There were a number of strikings using an old Washington die about 8 millimeters in diameter from dies found in Philadelphia. This creation by the late Robert Bashlow was made about 1961 and usually occurs on English cartwheel pennies. At least one is known on a Peru 1790 8 escudos (doubloon), shown in Figure 72. It has been sold at auction as a "rare" Washington item!

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We are deeply indebted to the current and former staff of the American Numismatic Society for their aid in this project, especially Dr. John Kleeberg. The photography staff and the librarian, Frank Campbell, are also acknowledged.





FIGURE 72. Counterstamp on 1790 Peru 8 escudos.

My wife Doris, who spent many hours correcting grammar and proofreading, and Barry Tayman, Esq., for his editing, are gratefully acknowledged. The continued cooperation of Ms. Elizabeth Norweb, trustee of the Norweb Estate, allowed several rare pieces to be illustrated. The curator, Ann Bentley, of the Massachusetts History Society kindly supplied photographs from their cabinet, which are sincerely appreciated. Beth Deischer, editor of *Coin World*, kindly supplied some photocopies of articles. Krause Publications gave permission to reproduce a plate from Rulau and Fuld (1999). Thanks to Saul Teichman for certain data.

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SOME MODERN SERBIAN, MONTENEGRIN,  
AND YUGOSLAV RARITIES IN THE  
COIN CABINET OF THE KUNSTHISTORISCHES  
MUSEUM, VIENNA

PLATES 21–28

ALEKSANDAR N. BRZIĆ\* AND ROSWITHA DENK\*\*

This article represents part (cf. Brzić 2001) of an ongoing survey of the numismatic links between the modern Yugoslav countries<sup>1</sup> and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. This time we turn our attention to the numismatic rarities of these countries in the collection of the Coin Cabinet of the Kunsthistorisches Museum (KHM) in Vienna. During the recent work on the *Repertorium* (Prokisch et al. 1999), it became apparent that this collection contains some important rarities and even unique coins, most of them unpublished, so far as we are aware.

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<sup>1</sup> We limit this survey to the period of, roughly, 1850 to 1950. Coinage was issued in the Principality and Kingdom of Serbia in the period from 1868 to 1917, in the Principality and Kingdom of Montenegro from 1906 to 1915, and in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia from 1920 to 1938. These spans of time are nowadays generally considered the early or “classic” modern period in the numismatics of these countries. By calling these countries “Yugoslav”, we do not want to imply any political meaning or preference. Apart from legibility of this text, our only reason was that these countries constituted the Kingdom of Yugoslavia as a geographical entity until 1945.

Some of them were rumored to exist but published only as very inadequate photographs of old plaster casts, if any at all. As a separate publication of these rarities would have gone far beyond the task envisaged by the authors of the *Repertorium*, we felt that these very important coins merit their own survey and publication. Apart from the wholly unpublished ones, the known ones are otherwise virtually always encountered well-worn, and hardly anybody has ever seen the full engraving details on them, let alone made a good photograph as a reference.

We describe not only the coins themselves but also the reasons for inclusion in this publication. While preparing this publication we have tried to provide the best possible illustrations within our technical means.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, a photograph remains a photograph. As the Coin Cabinet is normally accessible to the general public,<sup>3</sup> interested readers are encouraged to examine these coins themselves and form their own opinion.

#### A SHORT HISTORY OF THE COIN COLLECTION AT THE KUNSTHISTORISCHES MUSEUM

The Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna started receiving visitors in 1891. The building of it was initiated by the Emperor, in order not only to gather all Hapsburg collections in one place, but also to make them accessible to the public. The oldest of the eight collections is the Coin Cabinet collection (officially, the "Collection of Coins, Medals, and Tokens").

The beginning of the modern age, and in particular the reign of the "last of the knight-emperors", Maximilian I (1486/1508–1519), gave us the first written sources about the collecting activity of the Hapsburg family and the emperor himself. His interest in Roman coins was well-known: he followed the different series all the way back to Julius

<sup>2</sup> All illustrations are printed at twice their actual size in order to show the design details more clearly.

<sup>3</sup> Apart from regular exhibitions, by appointment only. Address and opening times details can be found on the KHM website: <http://www.khm.at>

Caesar, whom he saw as one of his predecessors; in his view this gave his reign even more credentials and elevated him above the rest of the European nobility at the time.

The reign of one of Maximilian's grandchildren, Emperor Ferdinand I (1519/26/31/56–1564), produced for the first time a written inventory in which, among other things, 1046 coins of the Greek and Roman period were registered. His collecting interests were surpassed by the zeal of his sons. Both Grand Duke Ferdinand of Tyrol (1564–1595) and Emperor Rudolph II (1576–1612) collected on a really grand scale. When it came to coins, Ferdinand was the more avid of the two, and while Rudolph didn't really neglect them, he mainly put his efforts into promoting and supporting the arts and therefore is today much more important for the history of medallic arts than coinage.

The next hundred years saw little change in the collection. It was Karl VI (1711–1740) who restarted the activities by enlarging the collection substantially once again. Again, his collecting interests were mainly focused on the Greek and Roman series. Karl VI will also be remembered for the first restructuring effort in the collection's history: he appointed Carl Gustav Heraeus in 1712 as "Medals and Antiquities Inspector" and gave him the task of putting together three main coin collections (Ferdinand's from the Court Library, Grand Duke Leopold Wilhelm's collection, and the coin collection from the castle Ambras in Tyrol) into a central cabinet. Unfortunately, this effort was to remain unfinished.

His son-in-law, Emperor Franz I Stephan of Lotharingia (1745–1765), the King-Consort of Empress Maria Theresa, was the first one to become interested in the modern (i.e., for him contemporary) coinage. He engaged Valentin Jameray Duval to build up and maintain his own modern coin and medals cabinet. But as early as 1748 he ordered Duval to put together his own modern collection with the rest of it and to maintain it all as one entity. This effort was to be finished only after his death. This event was the source of another inventory, this one already having nearly 50,000 units. We cannot but mention that in 1774 Joseph Hilarius Eckhel got the task of maintaining the Greek and Roman coins. His work on establishing order in this huge collection is arguably seen nowadays as the beginning of the modern scientific numismatics.



The whole nineteenth century saw the collection grow at an amazing rate. The bulk of the additions were Greek and Roman coins; nevertheless, mediéval and early modern coins, particularly of the Hapsburg countries, were added at a very fast rate. A contemporary article about the opening of the museum in 1891 gives an interesting account of Emperor Franz Joseph I (1848–1916) and his interests: “longer than planned and with a lot of enthusiasm Franz Joseph inspected the coin and medal collection” (see Haupt 1991: 41).

The twentieth century saw a new orientation in the collection policies. New areas like paper money, emergency issues, historic shares and bonds, and so on gave a new economic and historical meaning to this grand old collection. Related material like orders, decorations, and badges also started to be collected, and medal collecting was reinvigorated once again. The centuries have seen this collection grow to the current level of about 700,000 objects, which makes it one of the five most important in the world.

The interest of the Coin Cabinet at KHM in many countries—some of them geographically not anywhere near Austria—can easily be explained by the fact that the Vienna Mint produced coins for many other countries<sup>4</sup> in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The practice of depositing mint sample coins with the Cabinet every time something was produced is paying off handsomely today: for example, many Balkan rarities, which otherwise would have been destroyed or made inaccessible because of the turmoil in that geographical area, are still there and can be freely researched. Most coins, medals, and orders are also in perfect condition or nearly so. In many cases this makes all the details of manufacture visible and therefore serves as a crucial “witness” in determination of authenticity; a mint sample coin preserved perfectly since it was made has as good a provenance as an object can get.

The current collection has 94 coins of Yugoslavia, 59 of Serbia, and 36 of Montenegro. Two coins of wartime Croatia are also in the collection, as are some rather interesting forgeries of coins of all the above countries.

<sup>4</sup> Although Franz Wieser did document and publish this activity from time to time, a complete and definitive survey of this activity strangely does not yet exist.

## NOTE ON THE CATALOGUE

For every coin included in this survey we have used the same presentation. Apart from the country, denomination, physical description, and metal, we have also noted some relevant data encountered on the collection record card. Pictures are shown irrespective of the coin's actual alignment, which is given by symbols in the text. Grading is, as always, subjective and represents solely the opinion of the authors. Finally, a comment describes nearly every coin individually and the reasons for its rarity. Where applicable and necessary, we have included further references. We hope that this catalogue will allow these coins to become common knowledge and be properly included in the relevant literature.

## COINS OF THE PRINCIPALITY AND KINGDOM OF SERBIA

1. 5 para 1868, bronze, 5.09 g, 25 mm, edge smooth, ↑↓, Vienna. Mandić 2b, KM to 2, *Rep.* to 23.10.1-1.2/9. Condition: proof-like gem red-brown.

Collection record: consigned to the Cabinet.

Comment: The whole Serbian 1868 series (1, 5 and 10 para) is very seldom encountered in excellent condition although a small number of such specimens are known today in the field. The rarity of this particular coin stems not only from its condition but even more from the combination with its die alignment: coin-aligned coins are quite rare; medal-aligned ones are the normal strikes. The collection includes both alignments. The minting of this series had initially started with coin alignment, but after the first batch were delivered, people apparently started complaining about the ruler being "on his head". Subsequently the alignment was changed and the rest were minted with medal alignment, which remained characteristic of Serbian coinage for many years to come. Although this was known before (Hadži-Pešić 1994), among modern reference works only Mandić (1995) catalogues both varieties correctly. In the English- or German-language literature this variety is as yet unpublished.

2. 10 para 1868, bronze, 10.12 g, 30 mm, edge smooth, ↑↓, Vienna. Mandić 3b, KM to 3, *Rep.* to 23.10.1-1.1/9. Condition: gem red-brown.

Collection record: consigned to the Cabinet.

Comment: Although 10 para in coin alignment is less rare than 5 para in coin alignment, it nevertheless remains a very scarce coin and very difficult to find in a good state of preservation in both alignments. Again, only Mandić (1995) catalogues both varieties correctly and states that the 10 para is about three times more common than the 5 para coin. In the English- or German-language literature this coin is as yet unpublished.

3. 2 dinara 1875, silver .835, 9.97 g, 27mm, edge smooth, ↑↑, Vienna. Mandić 8.1, KM 6, *Rep.* to 23.10.2-1.4/8. Condition: lightly toned gem mint state.

Collection record: The record states that this is the mint "Probe" (trial strike) and mint sample coin.

Comment: The mention of the "Probe" on the record is most interesting, as this coin appears to be identical with the coins issued subsequently. No previous trials have survived to our knowledge, and this fascinating provenance makes this particular coin unique.

4. 10 para 1883, copper-nickel, 4.03 g, 20 mm, edge smooth, ↑↑, Vienna. Mandić to 12.1, KM to 19, *Rep.* to 23.10.2-1.8/16. Condition: gem mint state.

Collection record: consigned to the Cabinet.

Comment: see comment on the next coin.

5. 20 para 1883, copper-nickel, 6.04 g, 22 mm, edge smooth, ↑↑, Vienna. Mandić to 13.1, KM to 20, *Rep.* to 23.10.2-1.7/16. Condition: proof.

Collection record: consigned to the Cabinet.

Comment: Although none of the standard world coin literature works reflect this, Mandić (1995) notes that the coins of this series are very rare in mint state. These coins remained in circulation well into the twentieth century, and are usually not very well

preserved. Even in this collection the smallest denomination, the 5 para 1883, is in very mediocre condition. Proofs are hitherto unpublished.

6. 5 para 1904, copper-nickel, 3.00 g, 17 mm, edge smooth, ↑↑, Vienna. Mandić 19.1, KM 18, *Rep.* to 23.10.4-2.8/2. Condition: gem mint state.

Collection record: Mint sample coin.

Comment: Again, a rare combination of excellent preservation with perfect provenance.

7. 5 dinara 1904, silver .900, 25.01 g, 37.3 mm, edge standard as Mandić 25a: БОГ ЧУВА СРБИЈУ, ↑↑, Kremnitz. Mandić to 25a, KM to 27, *Rep.* to 23.10.4-2.2/2. Condition: proof-like mint state.

Collection record: Again a mint sample coin with a "Probe" label attached to it.

Comment: As in the case of 3, this is a unique historic object, namely, the trial coin for the final choice of dies, seemingly for the business strike. Another coin from the later, normal mintage run is preserved next to this one, and one can clearly see the difference: this coin shows some frosted devices, particularly on the reverse, and also a very well defined and sharp edge. Later on in the mintage, all the features, including the edge, tended to level off into a rather flat and unattractive whole. This coin is therefore also important because it shows the real intention of the engraver, S. Schwartz, much better than even the best-preserved coins from later in the mintage process.

8. 5 para 1917, gold of unknown fineness, 4.4 g, 17 mm, edge smooth, ↑↑, Gorham, Providence, RI, USA. Mandić R39, KM Pn6, *Rep.* 23.10.4-5.8/15 remark. Condition: gem mint state.

Collection record: consigned to the Cabinet.

Comment: Although the existence of this type<sup>5</sup> has long been rumored, only this particular specimen was established to exist,

<sup>5</sup> And indeed of the whole series of 5, 10 and 20 para.

until another one of the same weight surfaced quite recently in Hauck & Aufhäuser Auction 16 in October 2001 in Munich (lot 944, although by far not as well preserved as this Cabinet specimen).

### COINS OF THE PRINCIPALITY AND KINGDOM OF MONTENEGRO

9. 10 perpera 1910, gold .900, 3.39 g, 19 mm, edge arabesque, ↑↑, Vienna. Mandić 18, KM 9, *Rep.* to 23.11.1-1.3/51. Condition: proof-like mint state.

Collection record: mint sample coin.

Comment: Unique provenance. See the remark after next coin.

10. 20 perpera 1910, gold .900, 6.77 g, 21 mm, edge БОГ ЧУБА ЦРХУ ГОРУ, ↑↑, Vienna. Mandić 19a, KM 11, *Rep.* to 23.11.1-1.2/51. Condition: proof-like mint state.

Collection record: mint sample coin.

Comment: It is important to have 10 and 20 Perpera 1910 (laureate head) coins of proven origin because in the last decades many very good forgeries of these scarce and sought-after coins have been observed on the market. Mandić (1995) has published some of them, of possibly Italian origin. This particular coin also solves the dilemma of the edge text. For years there have been rumors that the edge text contains an error and instead of БОГ ЧУБА ЦРХУ ГОРУ, it says БОГ ЧУБА ЦРХУ ГОРУ. On this particular coin we were indeed able to observe the second variant. The provenance of this coin, and the fact that it must be from the early stages of the coining process, lead us to believe that this indeed is the genuine edge text.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> We are very grateful to Mr. Mandić, of Belgrade, for alerting us that this information was unpublished and would indeed like to ascribe the discovery to him rather than to us. We were simply able to confirm these facts by having this mint sample coin at our disposal.

11. 100 perpera 1910, gold .900, 33.87 g, 37 mm, edge БОГ ЧУВА ЦРХУ ГОРУ, ↑↑, Vienna. Mandić 10a, KM 10, *Rep.* to 23.11.1-1.1/51. Condition: lightly hairlined proof.

Collection record: mint sample coin.

Comment: Again, a perfect provenance for a coin that is rarely so well preserved (probably no more than about 10 examples in such condition exist, based on our observation of occurrences on the market over the last 30 years).

12. 100 perpera 1910, gold .900, 33.88 g, 37 mm, edge БОГ ЧУВА ЦРХУ ГОРУ, ↑↑, Vienna. Mandić 20a, KM 13, *Rep.* to 23.11.1-1.1/51. Condition: very lightly hairlined proof.

Collection record: mint sample coin.

Comment: See the remark for 11, but this variation is even rarer and extremely difficult to find in high grades.

13. 1 para 1913, bronze, 1.65 g, 17 mm, edge smooth, ↑↑, Vienna. Not in Mandić, KM, or *Rep.* Condition: mint state.

For comparison, the normal business strike is presented as no. 13a in Plate 25.

Collection record: mint sample coin.

Comment: See remark after 16.

14. 2 pare 1913, bronze, 3.35 g, 19 mm, edge smooth, ↑↑, Vienna. Not in Mandić, KM, or *Rep.* Condition: mint state.

For comparison, the normal business strike is presented as no. 14a in Plate 26.

Collection record: mint sample coin.

Comment: See remark after 16.

15. 10 para 1913, copper-nickel, 3.11 g, 19 mm, edge smooth, ↑↑, Vienna. Not in Mandić, KM, or *Rep.* Condition: proof-like mint state.

For comparison, the normal strike is presented as no. 15a in Plate 26.

Collection record: mint sample coin.

Comment: See remark after 16.

16. 20 para 1913, copper-nickel, 4.11 g, 21 mm, edge smooth, ↑↑, Vienna. Not in Mandić, KM, or *Rep.* Condition: proof-like mint state.

For comparison, the normal strike is presented as no. 16a in Plate 27.

Collection record: mint sample coin.

Comment: This series—1, 2, 10, and 20 para 1913—is wholly unpublished and to our knowledge unique. The only difference from the regular series of 1913 is the word КЊАЖЕВИНА (“principality”) appearing instead of КРАЉЕВИНА (“kingdom”) on the reverse of these coins. It is very easy to imagine what happened here: the last similar series of coins for Montenegro was made in 1908 while the country was still a Principality, and in 1913 a shortage of coins made the Montenegrin government order more from the Vienna Mint. The Mint was glad to oblige, but somebody must have forgotten that the country became a kingdom in 1910, and that the reverse of the coins should have been adjusted accordingly. Once the error was spotted, the rest of coins were surely melted (if they were produced in quantity at all), with this one group preserved for the sample set of the Vienna Mint. The engraver of these coins remains unknown.

#### COINS OF THE KINGDOM OF SERBS, CROATS, AND SLOVENES AND THE KINGDOM OF YUGOSLAVIA

17. 1 dukat 1931, gold .986, 3.49g, 20.01 mm, edge reeded, ↑↑, Vienna. Mandić R44, KM 13.1, *Rep.* 23.12.2.-6.2/11. Condition: mint state.

Collection record: mint sample coin.

Comment: See remark after 18.

18. 4 dukata 1931, gold .986, 13.97 g, 39.50 mm, edge reeded, ↑↑, Vienna. Mandić 53, KM A15.1, *Rep.* 23.12.2.-6.2/11. Condition:

lightly hairlined proof.

Collection record: mint sample coin.

Comment: The above two coins are remarkable survivors of a somewhat convoluted process of the production of ducats (i.e., trade coinage) for the Kingdom of Yugoslavia between 1931 and 1934. The 4 ducat 1931 preserved here is unique; it is one of those coins for which rumors have been far more available than facts. Though the coin was not unknown, until the appearance of the Repertorium in 1999 only an inadequate photograph of a very old plaster cast had been published. Several examples of the 1 ducat 1931 of this issue (both with and without the prescribed countermarks) have surfaced on the market, but it also remains of the highest rarity. Both coins were made in Vienna but bear the "КОБНИЦА А.Д." signature as if they were made in Belgrade. The reason for this is that the law regulating these issues clearly stipulated that ducats could only be made in Yugoslavia, by domestic mints. Designs of both types were made by Placht (obverse) and Prinz (reverse) and the two types preserved here are the early designs eventually rejected by the Yugoslav government. Subsequent designs<sup>7</sup> were substantially different and were adopted for the regular issue. The remainder<sup>8</sup> of this first design trial seems to have been melted, apart from several 1-ducat pieces. Again, the 4-ducat coin of this early type is the only one known in existence today.

#### A TOKEN OF THE CROATIAN PRO-FASCIST INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

19. 5 kuna 1934, bronze or copper, 3.55 g, 23.4 mm, edge reeded, ↑↑, Vienna. Not in Mandić, KM Pn5, *Rep* remark. Condition: gem mint state.

<sup>7</sup> For these two engravers and their work, see Wiener Bund für Medaillenkunst (1938).

<sup>8</sup> Most authors quote a number of 2000 1-ducat pieces and 59 4-ducat pieces, but we have no actual source for these numbers. This might have been communicated earlier on from the Vienna Mint itself, possibly via the publications of F. Wieser.



Collection record: mint sample coin.

Comment: Occurrence of this particular coin in the collection, with the above provenance, is most interesting. Although this coin (Bruce X1 = KM Pn5) has been previously published by both Krause (2000) and Bruce (1992), the attribution to Vienna, which seems to be merited after this find, has never before been proposed. The fact that the coin is in virtually pristine mint condition (although it is not a proof) speaks for a fast transfer from the Mint into the Coin Cabinet collection, with minimal handling. The collection records are usually very accurate, and if this coin had been acquired from a collection or some other source, that fact would have certainly been recorded. Therefore, both the record and the state of preservation of the coin speak in favor of minting in Vienna. In the collection, only this one coin is present. Both Bruce X1a and X1b (= KM Pn6 & Pn7) are absent, which might mean that all other strikes or similar coins could well be later productions, probably well after the Second World War. If these other varieties had been made in Vienna, they would undoubtedly have been preserved in the Cabinet together with this coin. It is, however, quite possible that those later strikes were made from the original dies, as these were given to the customer, if requested.

What could be the reason that this coin was previously attributed to Budapest, Munich (Dreschler & Sohn), or even Milan (for precise earlier attribution references, see *Repertorium*)? The Croatian pro-fascist "Ustaša" secessionist movement was quite active in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, its most infamous deed being the assassination of the King Aleksandar I while on a state visit to France, in Marseilles in October of 1934. Because of the fear of subsequent persecution, members of this movement maintained camps outside Yugoslavia, mainly in Hungary and Italy, while having close connections with Nazi Germany. This most probably explains the thinking of many authors that the coin therefore must have been made there. At the same time, Austria did not want to appear overtly supportive of such movements (cf. Ludwig 1954), and the fact that the coin was made in Vienna might have been intentionally less than well publicized. Whether this coin should further on

be classified as a fantasy issue, is a matter of some discussion. As the country for which it purports to be did not yet exist<sup>9</sup>, it is possibly better described as a token. But strangely enough, when the country did come into existence several years later, this coin was not declared legal tender and was never actually widely used, if at all, anyway<sup>10</sup>. Taking all the above into account, we propose a wholly new attribution of this coin to Vienna, with a status of a token.

### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors would like to express their gratitude to Dr. Hubert Emmerig of the Institute of Numismatics of the University of Vienna for his friendly criticism and review of this text. We are also very indebted to Mr. Ranko Mandić of Belgrade for drawing our attention to a number of unresolved questions in this area. Furthermore, logistic support of Dr. Ingeborg Dangl and Mr. Dieter Schoeberl, both from Vienna, is very much appreciated. All images are reproduced by courtesy of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

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<sup>9</sup> The obverse text actually says “For the independent state of Croatia” and therefore states an intention rather than a claim to exist as a state entity.

<sup>10</sup> It might have been used as coin substitute in the training camps, but we don’t have any sources to that effect.



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## ACQUISITIONS FOR 2002 IN THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY COLLECTION

PLATES 29–42

PETER VAN ALFEN, ELENA STOLYARIK,  
SEBASTIAN HEATH, MICHAEL BATES,  
AND ROBERT WILSON HOGE

### GREEK

Blessed again by the generosity of its donors, the Greek department can boast of a number of significant gifts in 2002, especially in the areas of Macedonian regal coinage, Alexander-types and Lycian staters. As we have had occasion to in past years, we thank again Dr. Jay Galst, Arthur Houghton, Jonathan Rosen, Dr. Arnold-Peter Weiss, and an anonymous donor for their contributions to the collection. Also, we extend our gratitude posthumously to Charles Hersh by whose bequest the American Friends of the British Museum gave 137 coins to the Greek department, coins that are only a portion of the larger gift.

As will shortly be seen, the donations to the Greek department in 2002 were impressive and numbered over 465 coins. For this reason, individual coins are not listed or illustrated except in a few cases. Information on, and in many cases photographs of, the individual coins can be obtained from the ANS website (<http://www.amnumsoc.org>).

#### *Macedon*

**\*1–56.** Perdiccas II, 451–413 (Plate 29 no. 1)

Acc. numbers: 2002.46.545; 2002.46.548–599; 2002.46.604–605  
(Charles Hersh bequest).

56 AR tetrobols



Ref.: *SNG ANS* 8, *Macedonia II: Alexander I-Philip II*; Raymond 1953.

Many of these coins were already published and illustrated by Hersh (1991). The references to parallel types included in this group along with the number of individual examples are as follows: Raymond (1953) types 39a (x 2), 78a (x 1), 80a (x 2), 82a (x 6), 84a (x 3), 89a (x 2), 98a (x 1), 99b (x 1), 101a (x 2), 101b (x 1), 107b (x 1), 125a (x 4), 140a (x 1), 143a (x 1), 145a (x 1), 151a (x 3), 157a (x 1), 158a (x 2), 159a (x 1), 160a (x 1), 161a (x 1), 163a (x 2), 165a (x 1), 165b (x 1), 166a (x 3), 172a (x 1), 173c (x 3), 210a (x 1), 217a (x 1); *SNG ANS* 8.39 (x 1), 8.40 (x 1), 8.63 (x 1). Direct parallels for 2002.46.585 are not found; thus, the coin is here illustrated.

**57–60.** Archelaus I, 413–400/399

Acc. numbers: 2002.46.600–603 (Charles Hersh bequest)

4 AR diobols

*Obv.*: Horse prancing l.

*Rev.*: Crested helmet l. in incuse square with linear border,

**APXEΛAO**

Ref.: *SNG ANS* 8.71.

**61–96.** Philip II, 359–336 BC

Acc. numbers: 2002.46.606–641 (Charles Hersh bequest)

36 AE “units”

Ref.: *SNG ANS* 8.

These 36 coins join the already substantial collection of over 600 Philip II bronzes in the ANS collection, 137 of which were published by H. Troxell in *SNG ANS* 8. The new additions include the following types: *SNG ANS* 8.842 (x 1), 846 (x 1), 849 (x 2), 871 (x 1), 874 (x 1), 874 (x 1), 878 (x 1), 880 (x 1), 881 (x 1), 882 (x 2), 886 (x 1), 889 (x 1), 894 (x 1), 897 (x 1), 902 (x 2), 905 (x 1), 907 (x 2), 908 (x 1), 909 (x 1), 912 (x 1), 913 (x 1), 919 (x 1), 929 (x 2), 939 (x 1), 944 (x 2), 953 (x 2), 962 (x 2), 968 (x 1).

**97–104.** Alexander III, 336–323

Acc. numbers: 2002.46.508–509; 513–516; 519; 526 (Charles Hersh bequest)

8 AR drachms

Ref.: Price 1991

The types are: Price 52, 1391, 1551, 1799, 1814, 2259, 2554, 3140.

**105–203.** Alexander III, 336–323 / Philip III, 323–316

Acc. numbers: 2002.11.102–261 (gift of Jonathan Rosen)

99 AR drachms

Ref.: Price 1991

The following types are included: Price 862b, 1347, 1356, 1362a, 1372, 1385a, 1417, 1423, 1502b, 1506, 1520, 1527, 1528, 1560a, 1582, 1759f, 1762, 1769, 1770, 1796, 1797a, 1800, 1801, 1802, 1804, 1805b, 1809, 1812, 1813, 1817, 1825c, 1955, 2088, 2090, 2121, 2138, 2147, 2148, 2274, 2553a, 2571, 2599d, 2629b, 2637, 3140, 3317a, 3310, 3317, 3692, P56.

**204–205.** Alexander III, 336–323

Acc. numbers: 2002.11.262–263 (gift of Jonathan Rosen)

2 AR tetradrachms

Ref.: Price 1991, 2884, 2937

**206–231.** Alexander III, 336–323

Acc. numbers: 2002.46.505; 510–511; 517–518; 520–525; 527–542  
(Charles Hersh bequest)

26 AR tetradrachms

Ref.: Price 1991

These types are present: Price 4, 6, 103, 114, 660, 825, 874, 1339, 2031, 2237, 2994, 3119, 3298, 3412, 3467, 3479, 3504, 3541, 3568, 3624, 3625, 3639, 3656, 3657, 3791, 3852.

**232.** Philip III, 323–316, “Babylon”

Acc. number: 2002.46.543 (Charles Hersh bequest)

AR hemidrachm, 12 mm, 1.93 g

*Obv.*: Head of Herakles r. wearing lion scalp.

*Rev.*: Seated Zeus l. with eagle and scepter, ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ, monogram M.

Ref.: Price (1991) P185.

*Thrace*

**233.** Lysimachus, 323–281, Magnesia

Acc. number: 2002.46.512 (Charles Hersh bequest)

AR tetradrachm, 26 mm, 17.12 g

*Obv.*: Head of Heracles r. wearing lion scalp.

*Rev.*: Seated Zeus l. with eagle and scepter; symbol of lion-forepart on l., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ ΑΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ

Ref: Price 1991 L31.

### *Locris*

#### **\*234.** Locri Opuntii, c. 369–338 (Plate 29 no. 2)

Acc. number: 2002.17.119 (gift of Arnold-Peter Weiss)

AR stater, 24 mm, 12.06 g, 4:00

*Obv.*: Head of goddess (Persephone?) to r., earring with five pendants.

*Rev.*: Locrian Ajax armed to r., griffin on shield, ΟΠΟΝΤΙΩΝ

Ref.: *BMC Central Greece* period III

### *Caria*

#### **\*235.** Mausolus, 377–353 (Plate 29 no. 3)

Acc. number: 2002.20.1 (gift of Arnold-Peter Weiss)

AR tetradrachm, 23 mm, 15.15 g, 12:00

*Obv.*: Facing head of Apollo

*Rev.*: Zeus Labrandeus standing, monogram ME to l., ΜΑΥΣΣΩΛΛΟΥ

Ref.: *SNG von Aulock* 2358.

### *Lycia*

#### **236–336.**

Lycia, various dynasts

Acc. numbers: 2002.11.1–101 (gift of Jonathan Rosen)

101 AR staters

#### **337–454.** Lycia, various dynasts

Acc. number: 2002.17.1–118 (gift of Arnold-Peter Weiss)

118 AR staters

With these two large gifts, including a third gift of 81 Lycian staters (2003.7.1–81) presented by Arnold-Peter Weiss and accessioned in early 2003, the ANS collection of Lycian dynastic coin-

age has now more than doubled. The 300 coins of these three gifts will be published in a separate forthcoming study in *AJN*.

*Palestine*

**455–457.**

Samaria, fourth century

Acc. numbers: 2002.47.1–3 (gift of Jay Galst)

3 AR obols

Ref.: Meshorer and Qedar (1999: pl. 29, 213, 216).

These three pseudo-Athenian obols surfaced as part of the well-published Samaria hoard (*Coin Hoards* 9.413) and formed a portion of lot 991 of the Sotheby's auction of 27–28 October 1993.

*Arachosia*

These eight coins were part of the large, only partially published hoard of 230 tetradrachms that was said to have been found near Quetta, Pakistan, in late 2001. A full list of the contents of the hoard, as well as a general discussion of the find and its Seleucid component can be found in Houghton and Lorber (2002). Among the various lifetime and posthumous Alexander types, Seleucid and Seleucid imitations, and a handful of Pergamene, Greco-Bactrian, and Lysimachian issues, were these eight highly unusual imitations:

**\*458.** Alexander-type imitation, third century (Plate 29 no. 4)

Acc. number: 2002.19.1 (gift of Arthur Houghton)

AR tetradrachm, 24 mm, 16.04 g, 6:00

*Obv.*: Head of Herakles to l., wearing lion skin headdress

*Rev.*: Zeus seated on throne to l., holding eagle and scepter; NI... below throne; cut.

Ref.: Houghton and Lorber (2002: vol. 1, 483–488).

**\*459.** Alexander-type imitation, third century (Plate 29 no. 5)

Acc. number: 2002.19.2 (gift of Arthur Houghton)

AR tetradrachm, 23 mm, 15.98 g, 12:00

*Obv.*: Head of Herakles to r., wearing lion skin headdress

*Rev.*: crude Zeus seated on throne, monogram (?) (PI) to l.

Ref.: Houghton and Lorber (2002: vol. 1, 483–488).



- \*460.** Alexander-type imitation, third century (Plate 29 no. 6)  
Acc. number: 2002.19.3 (gift of Arthur Houghton)  
AR tetradrachm, 23 mm, 16.98 g, 6:00  
*Obv.:* Head of Alexander to r., with horns of Ammon  
*Rev.:* Zeus seated on throne to l. holding eagle and scepter; cut.  
*Ref.:* Houghton and Lorber (2002: vol. 1, 483–488).
- \*461.** Alexander-type imitation, third century (Plate 29 no. 7)  
Acc. number: 2002.19.4 (gift of Arthur Houghton)  
AR tetradrachm, 23 mm, 15.20 g, 9:00  
*Obv.:* Head of Alexander to r., with horns of Ammon  
*Rev.:* Zeus seated on throne to l. holding eagle and scepter.  
*Ref.:* Houghton and Lorber (2002: vol. 1, 483–488).
- \*462.** Alexander-type imitation, third century (Plate 29 no. 8)  
Acc. number: 2002.19.5 (gift of Arthur Houghton)  
AR tetradrachm, 24 mm, 16.46 g, 11:00  
*Obv.:* Head of Alexander to r., with horns of Ammon  
*Rev.:* Zeus seated on throne to l., holding eagle and scepter, traces of inscription to r.  
*Ref.:* Houghton and Lorber (2002: vol. 1, 483–488).
- \*463.** Alexander-type imitation, third century (Plate 29 no. 9)  
Acc. number: 2002.19.6 (gift of Arthur Houghton)  
AR tetradrachm, 26 mm, 16.09 g, 10:00, pierced by AR rivet  
*Obv.:* Head of Herakles (?) to r.  
*Rev.:* Zeus seated on throne to l.  
*Ref.:* Houghton and Lorber (2002: vol. 1, 483–488).
- \*464.** Alexander-type imitation, third century (Plate 29 no. 10)  
Acc. number: 2002.19.7 (gift of Arthur Houghton)  
AR tetradrachm, 25 mm, 15.01 g, 12:00, pierced by AR rivet  
*Obv.:* Head of Herakles (?) to r.  
*Rev.:* Zeus seated on throne to l., traces of inscription to r.  
*Ref.:* Houghton and Lorber (2002: vol. 1, 483–488).
- \*465.** Alexander-type imitation, third century (Plate 29 no. 11)  
Acc. number: 2002.19.8 (gift of Arthur Houghton)  
AR tetradrachm, 24 mm, 16.17 g, 10:00, pierced by AR rivet

*Obv.*: Head of Herakles to r., wearing lion skin headdress

*Rev.*: Zeus seated on throne to l., holding eagle and scepter

*Ref.*: Houghton and Lorber (2002: vol. 1, 483–488).

While all eight of these coins are clearly imitative (note especially the schematic Zeus on the reverse of no. 459), two sets of coins in this group are particularly striking. Nos. 460–462 are a hitherto unknown hybrid imitation combining the horned Alexander obverse type of Lysimachus with the Alexandrine enthroned Zeus on the reverse. While the wear on the reverses of nos. 460–461 may obscure any inscriptions, traces of Alexander's name appear to be visible to r. of the throne on no. 462. Nos. 463–465 share a common feature—being pierced by a large silver rivet or plug—for which there is no readily available explanation. Close inspection of the flans shows that all three coins had been pierced or drilled and then later (how much later is impossible to tell) had the holes filled with a slim and very likely heated rod of silver, which was then flattened on one or both sides of the coin. There does not seem to be any particular pattern to the drilling/piercing; when viewed from the obverse, the holes on nos. 462 and 464 are towards the base of Herakles' neck, while on no. 463 it is behind the ear. A similar lack of patterning is apparent when the coins are viewed from the reverse. Such an awkward placement of the holes would seem to preclude the notion that they were made in order to suspend the coins for use in jewelry; suspension holes are sometimes found on ancient coins generally around the 12:00 position of the obverse. Since all three coins even with the additional metal of the plugs are quite underweight, it could be that the plugs were meant to add weight in order to bring the coins more in line with weight/denominational expectations in exchange. Although by no means an exact parallel, an 1874 Mexican peso in the ANS collection (1922.54.13, currently on display at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York) has riveted to one side a US dime and to the other a US half dime; when the peso had depreciated to 85 cents in the later part of the nineteenth century, some Texas banks would physically join a dime and a half dime to a peso in order to bring its value up to a dollar. The same instinct may be visible here, otherwise why bother to fill the holes? And why use silver in excessive amounts to do so? The only ancient parallel for this type of behavior

in the ANS collection is an Alexander-type imitation of Seleucus I (1944.100.26643; same dies as Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 305), which appears to have had an iron nail (?) driven into the coin from the reverse which then broke off. The nail did not penetrate the obverse, and again we are left wondering at the reason for this act.

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PETER VAN ALFEN

### ROMAN AND BYZANTINE

In 2002 the ANS received a remarkable bequest from the Charles Hersh estate by way of the American Friends of the British Museum. The largest part of this donation is a collection of more than 500 Roman Republican silver coins (ANS 2002.46.1 to 2002.46.503), reflecting Hersh's main research interests as a collector and scholar. Hersh's notes indicate that some of these coins came from noteworthy hoards. A small group from the Morgantina hoard included 17 didrachms of 225–211 BC in addition to a denarius and a victoriatus issued between 211 and 208 BC; 116 denarii of 108–75 BC came from the great Mesagne (Calabria) hoard, while from a "Sicilian" hoard came 54 examples

of denarii, quinarii, and sestertii struck between 211 and 208 BC. We also received four quinarii of 211–210 BC and a denarius of 206–200 BC from a South Italian hoard. The Society received examples of more than 100 different types and varieties in this donation. Although the cabinet already possesses many of the types from the Hersh collection, the new additions will play a valuable role in future die studies and analyses of Roman mint production and economic history. Because many of these coins have been published previously and because this donation is too large to be described individually at this time, a small selection of some notable examples are described below. The coins are listed as designated by Crawford (1974).

The Roman and Byzantine department also received some smaller donations. These include a nummus of Crispus from Heraclea and a bronze coin of Heraclius restruck on a type of Phocas, both given by anonymous donors, and two lead tesserae donated by Oliver Hoover.

- \*1. Anonymous, 265–242 BC, Rome (Plate 30 no. 1)  
 Acc.number: 2002.46.1 (Charles Hersh bequest)  
 AR didrachm, 18.5 mm, 6.61 g, 6:00  
*Obv.*: Head of Roma r. in Phrygian helmet; behind, control symbol (star).  
*Rev.*: Victory r. attaching wreath to palm-branch; **ROMANO**; control letters **HH**  
 Ref.: Crawford 22; Sydenham 21  
 Scarce example. This variety of the type is new to the ANS collection.
  
- \*2. MA, 210 BC, Sardinia (Plate 30 no. 2)  
 Acc. number: 2002.46.45 (Charles Hersh bequest)  
 AR quinarius, 15.5 mm, 1.46 g, 2:00  
*Obv.*: Helmeted head of Roma r.; behind, V.  
*Rev.*: Dioscuri r., below, **AA**; in linear frame **ROMA**.  
 Ref.: Crawford 64/1; Sydenham 159  
 This Sardinian issue is new to the ANS collection. The Hersh donation also includes another example of the same type, ANS 2002.46.46.

- \*3.** ROMA, 211–210 BC, South Italy (Plate 30 no. 3)  
 Acc. number: 2002.46.54 (Charles Hersch bequest)  
 AR quinarius, 15 mm, 2.29 g, 2:00  
*Obv.*: Helmeted head of Roma r., behind, V.  
*Rev.*: Dioscuri r., above, two stars; below, monogram; in exergue, **ROMA**.  
 Ref.: Crawford 84/2; Sydenham 188  
 This is the rare quinarius of the ROMA series.
- \*4.** Q, 211–210 BC, South Italy (Plate 30 no. 4)  
 Acc. number: 2002.46.60 (Charles Hersch bequest)  
 AR quinarius, 14 mm, 2.01 g, 1:00  
*Obv.*: Helmeted head of Roma r., behind, V.  
*Rev.*: Dioscuri r.; above, two stars; below **Q**–; in exergue, **ROMA**.  
 Ref.: Crawford 86A/1; Sydenham 181  
 This is a new type of South Italian quinarius in the ANS collection.
- \*5.** KOP, 211–210 BC, Corcyra (Plate 30 no. 5)  
 Acc. number: 2002 46.67 (Charles Hersch bequest)  
 AR victoriat, 15.5 mm, 2.97 g, 6:00  
*Obv.*: Laureate head of Roma r.  
*Rev.*: Victory r. crowning trophy; in exergue, **ROMA**.  
 Ref.: Crawford 101/1; Sydenham 118  
 This is a rare issue of Corcyra (only three dies pairs were known to Crawford). It is also a new type of this mint production in the ANS collection.
- \*6.** MT, 211–210 BC, Apulia (Plate 30 no. 6)  
 Acc. number: 2002.46.71 (Charles Hersch bequest)  
 AR quinarius, 15 mm, 2.43 g, 1:00  
*Obv.*: Helmeted head of Roma r.; behind, V.  
*Rev.*: Dioscuri r.; in exergue, **ROMA**.  
 Ref.: Crawford 103/2b, Sydenham 183  
 This is a rare issue and a new variety in the ANS collection.
- \*7.** P. Mae[nius?], 194–190 BC, Rome (Plate 30 no. 7)  
 Acc. number: 2002.46.77 (Charles Hersch bequest)  
 AR denarius, 19 mm, 3.49 g, 6:00

*Obv.*: Helmeted head of Roma r.; behind, X.

*Rev.*: Dioscuri r.; in linear frame, ROMA.

Ref.: Crawford 138, Sydenham 351

Another new variety for the ANS collection

**\*8.** A. Manlius Q.f., 118–107 BC, Rome (Plate 30 no. 8)

Acc. number: 2002.46.108 (Charles Hersh bequest)

AR denarius, 21 mm, 3.96 g, 3:00

*Obv.*: Helmeted head of Roma r. (helmet has plume on each side); behind, SER downward; before, ROMA upwards.

*Rev.*: Sol in quadriga facing; on either side, star; on r., crescent; on l., X, below, waves and A·MAN·I·Q·F.

Ref.: Crawford 309, Sydenham 543

This rare issue refers to Cn. Manlius Vulso's successful action in Asia and Greece in 189–188 BC. The East is represented on the reverse of his descendant's coins by the image of the Sun god in his chariot.

**\*9.** Marsic confederation, 89 BC, uncertain mint (Plate 30 no. 9)

Acc. number: 2002.46.502 (Charles Hersh bequest)

AR denarius, 18.5 mm, 3.82 g, 3:00

*Obv.*: Laureate head of Italia l.; behind, Oscan legend VITELIV ("Italia").

*Rev.*: Soldier standing facing, head r., holding spear and sword, his l. foot trampling on Roman standard; recumbent bull on r. In exergue, Oscan control letter.

Ref.: Sydenham 627

Among the most important and interesting issues is this rare denarius of the Social War. It was struck by Marsic Confederation in 89 BC, as indicated by the allegorical images of Italia, as well as that of the soldier with a reversed spear and his foot on a Roman standard, signifying victory. This issue commemorated the successes of the Italic states over the Romans.

**\*10.** C. Vibius C.f. Pansa, 90 BC Rome (Plate 30 no. 10)

Acc. number: 2002.46.223 (Charles Hersh bequest)

AR denarius, 17 mm, 4.02 g, 3:00



*Obv.*: Mask of bearded Silenus r.; behind, **PANSA** downward; below, control-mark.

*Rev.*: Mask of bearded Pan r.; below, **C·VBIVS·C·F**; before control-mark.

Ref.: Crawford 342/1; Sydenham 689

This is a rather rare type (only four die pairs were known to Crawford).

**11.** Mn. Fonteius C.f., 85 BC Rome

Acc. number: 2002.46.247 (Charles Hersh bequest)

AR denarius, 17 mm, 3.96 g, 1:00

*Obv.*: Laureate head of Apollo r.; below, thunderbolt; behind, **EX·A·P**.

*Rev.*: Cupid on goat r., *pilei* on either side of goat; in exergue, *thyrsus* surrounded by laurel wreath.

Ref.: Crawford 353/2; Sydenham 726

This issue possibly related to additional bullion made available to the Roman mint as a result of the money left to the Roman People by Ptolemy Alexander, of Egypt. This coin is an example of the rarest variety in the issue.

**\*12.** C. Valerius Flaccus, 82 BC, Massalia (Plate 30 no. 11)

Acc. number: 2002.46.281 (Charles Hersh bequest)

AR denarius, 18 mm, 4.09 g, 5:00

*Obv.*: Winged and draped bust of Victory; before, control symbol (spear).

*Rev.*: Legionary eagle; on l., standard of maniple of *hastati*; on r., standard of maniple of *principes*; below, **EX S·C**; on l., **C·VA·FLA** upwards; on r., **IMPERAT** upward.

Ref.: Crawford 365/1c; Sydenham 747

This issue was minted in Massalia by special decree of the Senate. It was struck by Valerius Flaccus, the proconsul of Gaul, and was associated with Sulla's first moves against Q. Sertorius in Spain. The title of *imperator* had been granted to Flaccus in recognition of his victories in Spain and Gaul.

**13.** C. Annius T.f. T.n., 82–81 BC, Spain

Acc. number: 2002.46.290 (Charles Hersh bequest)

AR denarius, 20.5 mm, 3.92 g, 11:00

*Obv.*: Female head r., wearing diadem; around, C·ANNIVS·T·F·  
[T·N·] PRO·COS·EX·S·C; bellow bust, control letter R.

*Rev.*: Victory in quadriga r.; above, Q

In exergue LFABI·LF·HISP

Ref.: Crawford 366/3c; Sydenham 748C

This rare issue is connected with C. Annius campaign against Sertorius in Spain, and was minted by a special decree of the Senate.

**14.** Anonymous, 81 BC, uncertain mint

Acc. number: 2002.46.291 (Charles Hersh bequest)

AR denarius, 18 mm, 3.92 g, 1:00

*Obv.*: Head of Venus r. wearing diadem; behind, control-mark.

*Rev.*: Within laurel wreath, cornucopiae; on r., EX upwards; on l., S·C downward.

Ref.: Crawford 376; Sydenham 763

This rare issue could be associated with Sullan emergency measures in Italy during various military campaigns and after the defeat of Marian party

**\*15.** L. Volteius L.f. Strabo, 81 BC, Rome (Plate 30 no. 12)

Acc. number: 2002.46.293 (Charles Hersh bequest)

AR denarius serratus, 18 mm, 4.03 g, 6:00

*Obv.*: Laureate head of Jupiter r.; behind, control-mark.

*Rev.*: Europa seated on bull charging l.; behind, winged thunderbolt; below, ivy-leaf. In exergue, L·YO·L·F·STRAB.

Ref.: Crawford 377; Sydenham 743

The is a rare denarius of L. Volteius L.f. Strabo. The image of Europa on the reverse could be connected with that of Jupiter on the obverse, but the meaning of the ivy leaf below the bull is unclear.

**16.** C. Marius C.f. Capito, 81 BC, Rome

Acc. number: 2002.46.296 (Charles Hersh bequest)

AR denarius serratus, 19 mm, 3.83 g, 10:00

*Obv.*: Bust of Ceres r., draped; around, C·MARI·C·F·CAPIT·XXVIII.

*Rev.*: Ploughman with yoke of oxen l., above, XXVIII, S·C. In exergue, control symbol.



Ref.: Crawford, 378/1b; Sydenham 744A

This is one of the rarest variations of the abundant issue struck by C. Marius C.f. Capito

**17. C. Egnatius Cn.f. Cn.n. Maxsumus, 75 BC, Rome**

Acc. number: 2002.46.384 (Charles Hersh bequest)

AR denarius, 19 mm, 3.74 g, 3:00

*Obv.*: Bust of Cupid r., with bow and quiver over shoulder; behind, **MAXSVMVS**.

*Rev.*: Distyle temple of Jupiter and Libertas, containing standing figures of the two deities; below, **C·EGNATIVS·CN·F**; on r., **CN·N** upward; on l., control mark.

Ref.: Crawford 391/2; Sydenham 788

This rare type is associated with the festival of Jupiter Libertas.

**18. L. Plaetorius L.f., 74 BC, Rome**

Acc. number: 2002.46.407 (Charles Hersh bequest)

AR denarius, 16.5 mm, 3.95 g, 5:00

*Obv.*: Bust of Juno Moneta r., draped and wearing diadem; behind, **MONETA** downward.

*Rev.*: Victorious boxer running r. holding *caestus* in l. hand and palm-branch over r. shoulder; below, control mark; behind, **L·PLAETORI** downward; before, **L·F·Q·S·C** upwards.

Ref.: Crawford 396/1b; Sydenham 792A

This rare coin with an attractive image of Moneta was produced by L. Plaetorius L.f. Cestianus. The figure of a boxer on the reverse has no obvious connection with Moneta, but the *caestus* (an ancient Roman "boxing glove") in the boxer's hand could definitely be a punning allusion to the moneyer's cognomen, Cestianus.

**\*19. P. Lentulus P.f. P.n., 74 BC, Rome (Plate 30 no. 13)**

Acc. number: 2002.46.408 (Charles Hersh bequest)

AR denarius, 16.5 mm, 3.95 g, 10:00

*Obv.*: Bearded head of Hercules r.; behind **[Q·S·C]** downward.

*Rev.*: The Genius Populi Romani seated facing on a curule chair with r. foot on globe and holding cornucopiae and scepter, being crowned by flying Victory; on l., **P·LENT [P F]** (NT in monogram).

Ref.: Crawford 397, Sydenham 791

This very rare coin, identified with the name of P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, was minted by special senatorial decree during the anxious time of the wars with Sertorius in Spain and Mithridates in the East. With the image of the Genius Populi Romani, the issue proclaimed the supreme power and domination of the Roman Republic.

**\*20.** Q. Pomponius Rufus, 73 BC, Rome (Plate 30 no. 14)

Acc. number: 2002.46.409 (Charles Hersh bequest)

AR denarius, 17 mm, 3.89 g, 7:00

*Obv.*: Laureate head Jupiter r.; before, RVFVS upward; behind, S-C downward.

*Rev.*: Eagle perched on scepter with l. foot and holding wreath with r.; below and behind, control marks; below scepter, Q·POM-PO[NI].

Ref.: Crawford 398; Sydenham 793

One of the rarest issues, this coinage is associated with family of this moneyer, the Pomponii, and their kinship to the legendary Numa. The types relate to the belief that Numa was responsible for convincing Jupiter to make known his will by lightning bolt and the flight of birds (*auspices*).

**\*21.** Q. Crepereius M.f. Rocus, 72 BC Rome (Plate 30 no. 15)

Acc. number: 2002.46.411 (Charles Hersh bequest)

AR denarius serratus, 18.5 mm, 3.79 g, 6:00

*Obv.*: Bust of Amphitrite seen from behind, with head turned to r., draped; on l., control mark; on r., control mark.

*Rev.*: Neptune in biga of sea-horses r., holding reins in l. hand and brandishing trident with r.; below, Q·CREPEREI·ROCVS.

Ref.: Crawford 399/1a; Sydenham 796

This coin with an attractive image of Amphitrite, was issued by moneyer of *Crepereia* kin. The reverse type is evidently connected with some unknown naval event and does not explain the use of marine symbolism by the member of this family.

**22.** L. Axsius L.f. Naso, 71 BC, Rome

Acc. number: 2002.46.414 (Charles Hersh bequest)

AR denarius, 19 mm, 3.87 g, 4:00

*Obv.*: Helmeted head of Mars r. (helmet has plume on each side); below NASO; before, S·C; behind control mark.

*Rev.*: Diana in biga of stags r., holding reins in l. hand and spear in r. hand; behind, two dogs; below, dog; behind control mark. In exergue, L·AXSIVS·L·F.

Ref.: Crawford 400/1a; Sydenham 794

The image of the stags (*cervi axes*) on this rare coin probably could be a reference to the moneyer's cognomen.

**\*23. M. Plaetorius Cestianus, 69 BC, Rome (Plate 30 no. 16)**

Acc. number: 2002.46.415 (Charles Hersch bequest)

AR denarius, 18 mm, 4.10 g, 6:00

*Obv.*: Female bust (Fortuna?) r., draped, her hair in knot; control symbol behind.

*Rev.*: Half-length figure of boy facing, holding tablet inscribed SORS; around, M·PLAETORI·CEST·S·C.

Ref.: Crawford 405/2; Sydenham 801

This remarkable issue, with its images of Fortuna and the frontal pose of an oracular boy, is without parallel in earlier republican coinage. At Praeneste was located the institution of the oracle known as the *Sortes Praenestinae*, closely associated with the worship of Fortuna. This issue reflects the kinship connection between the Roman *gens Plaetoria* and the Praenestine family of the Cestiani, whom the Plaetorii had adopted into their ranks.

**24. Q. Pomponius Musa, 66 BC, Rome**

Acc. number: 2002.46.447 (Charles Hersch bequest)

AR denarius, 18 mm, 3.87 g, 3:00

*Obv.*: Head of Apollo r., hair tied with band; behind, a star.

*Rev.*: Urania l., holding rod in r. hand and pointing to globe resting on tripod; on r., Q·POMPONI downward; on l., MVSA downward.

Ref.: Crawford 410/8; Sydenham 823

This issue is among the most attractive series in Roman republican coinage, although the moneyer is known only from his coinage. His choice of the Muses for his coins is intended as a refer-

ence to his cognomen, Musa. The image on the reverse, of Urania pointing to a globe, reflects the ancient belief in a round Earth.

- \*25.** L. Torquatus, 65–58 BC, Rome (Plate 30 no. 17)  
 Acc. number: 2002.46.449 (Charles Hersch bequest)  
 AR denarius, 18 mm, 3.99 g, 4:00  
*Obv.*: Head of Sibyl r. wearing ivy wreath; below, SIBYLLA. Laurel wreath as border.  
*Rev.*: Tripod on which stands an amphora; on either side of amphora, star; on l., L·TORQVAT, on r., III·VIR upward. Torque as border.  
 Ref.: Crawford 411/1a; Sydenham 837  
 This rare issue struck by L. Manlius Torquatus refers to the religious institution of the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*, charged with the care of the Sibylline book. Use of the torque as a border on the reverse may refer to the moneyer's cognomen. This variety of the type is new for the ANS collection.
- 26.** M. Lepidus, 61 BC, Rome  
 Acc. number: 2002.46.488 (Charles Hersch bequest)  
 AR denarius, 19 mm, 3.46 g, 3:00  
*Obv.*: Female head r., laureate and wearing veil; on l., symbol on wreath; on r., control mark.  
*Rev.*: Basilica Aemilia; above, AIMILIA; on l., R[EF] downwards; below, M·LEPIDVS.  
 Ref.: Crawford 419/3b; Sydenham 834  
 This rare coin features a representation of the Vestal Virgin Aemilia and the Basilica Aemilia, built by one of the ancestors of M. Aemilius Lepidus in 179 BC.
- \*27.** M. Scaurus and P. Hypsaeus, 58 BC, Rome (Plate 30 no. 18)  
 Acc. number: 2002.46.492  
 AR denarius, 18 mm, 3.87 g, 6:00  
*Obv.*: Camel r.; before, kneeling figure, holding reins in l. hand and olive-branch tied with fillet in r.; above, M·SCAVR·AED CVR; on either side, EX S·C, below, [REX·ARETAS].  
*Rev.*: Jupiter in quadriga l., holding reins in l. hand and hurling thunderbolt with r.; below, horses, scorpion; above, P·HVP-

**SAE-AED-CVR**; below, **C-HVPSAE-COS-[PREIVE]**; on r., **[CAPTV]** upwards.

Ref.: Crawford 422/1b; Sydenham 913

This denarius, issued by Aemilius Scaurus in 58 BC, was struck on a substantial scale but still presents an interesting type. It is one of the earliest examples of a moneyer commemorating an event connected with himself, rather than his family, on his own coin. When Aemilius was governor of Syria, he repulsed an invasion by the Nabataean Arabians and forced their king, Aretas, to submit and pay a fine of 300 talents to Pompey as Roman commander in the East.

**28. P. Sepullius Macer, 44 BC, Rome**

Acc. number: 2002.46.495 (Charles Hersch bequest)

AR denarius, 19 mm, 4.12 g, 8:00

*Obv.*: Tetrastyle temple with globe in pediment; around, **[CLEMEN-TIAE] CAESARIS**.

*Rev.*: Horseman (*desultor*) r., holding reins in l. hand and whip in r.; behind, palm branch and wreath; above, **P-SEPVLLIVS**; below **MACER**.

Ref.: Crawford 480/21, Sydenham 1076

This rare coin presents the image of the temple, which the Senate ordered built in honor of Julius Caesar, in gratitude for the mercy the senators had received from him. It is believed to be a posthumous issue, struck by one of the four Caesarian moneyers who held office in 44 BC, at the time of his death.

**\*29. Sex. Pompeius, 42-40 BC, Sicily (Plate 30 no. 19)**

Acc. number: 2002.46.500 (Charles Hersch bequest)

AR denarius, 20 mm, 3.85 g, 8:00

*Obv.*: Pharos (lighthouse) of Messana, surmounted by statue of Neptune, helmeted, holding trident in r. hand and rudder in l. hand and placing l. foot on prow; before, ship l., with *aquila* in prow and scepter tied with fillet on stern; around, **MAG-PIVS-[IMP-ITER]**.

*Rev.*: Scylla, wielding rudder with both hands; around, **PRAEF-ORAE-MARI-ET-CLAS-S-C**.

Ref.: Crawford 511/4d; Sydenham 1349

This type was struck by Sextus Pompeius in commemoration of his successful naval battle against the fleet of Octavius. This variety is new to the ANS collection.

- \*30.** Lead token, first to second century AD (Plate 31 no. 20)  
 Acc. number: 2002.42.2 (gift of Oliver Hoover)  
 PB tessera, 20 mm, 5.01 g  
*Obv.*: Figure with arms raised to head (Venus?).  
*Rev.*: Inscription and abbreviation unclear.
- 31.** Lead token, first to second century AD  
 Acc. number: 2002.42.3 (gift of Oliver Hoover)  
 PB tessera, 18 mm, 3.86 g  
*Obv.*: Head r., :OLYMPIANVS.  
*Rev.*: Sestertius symbol in center; around, EVCARPVS.  
 Ref.: Rostovtsev (1903: no. 1460, p. 178, table 11 no. 34)  
 Rostovtsev believed that the tesserae that bear monetary units on them were used as small change.
- 32.** Crispus, AD 318–320, Heraclea  
 Acc. number: 2002.21.9  
 AE nummus with AR wash, 18 mm, 3.20 g, 11:00  
*Obv.*: Bust laureate l. with globe, scepter in r., mappa in l.; D N FL IVL CRISPVS NOB CAES.  
*Rev.*: Camp gate with three turrets, no doors; six layers of stone; PROVIDENTIA CAESS; SMH in exergue.  
 Ref.: *RIC* 44  
 This is now the second example in the ANS collection. In essentially uncirculated condition, it displays nearly full silvering whereas the other example (1944.100.9783), from different dies, does not.
- \*33.** Heraclius, AD 612–613, Constantinople (Plate 31 no. 21)  
 Acc. number: 2002.21.5  
 AE follis, 30 mm, 10.99 g, 1:00  
*Obv.*: Heraclius on l. and Heraclius Constantine on r., standing facing, wearing chlamys, and holding globus cruciger in r. hand, between their heads a cross.  
*Rev.*: Large M, to l., A / N / N / O; to r., II; in exergue, CON I.  
 Ref.: *DOC* 76

This type is overstruck on a follis of Phocas issued at Cyzicus (Class 2 DOC 72a)

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ELENA STOLYARIK

#### ROMAN PROVINCIAL

Seven Roman provincial coins, all from an anonymous donor, were added to the collection in 2002. Nos. 4 and 9, from Corycus and Caesarea ad Libanum, are unparalleled in major publications. The rest are either new to the ANS or interesting as additional specimens of well-known types. Additionally, two *cistophori* from the Hersh bequest appear here.

#### *Moesia Inferior*

- \*1.** Nicopolis, Macrinus (Plate 31 no. 1)  
 Acc. Number: 2002.21.7 (anonymous donation)  
 AE, 26 mm, 10.41 g, 7:00  
*Obv.*: Laureate and cuirassed bust r.; AVT K M OΠEA CEV...  
*Rev.*: Nemesis standing l. with scale in l. hand and rod in r.; wheel behind; VΠ CTA ΛON... ..ΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ ΠΡΟ Ι C IC (in exergue).  
 Ref.: Mushmov 1265. *SNG Budapest* III 402 probably shares an obverse die with this new ANS acquisition. The Budapest piece

is so worn, however, that the type is described in that volume as "laur. head r." The ANS coin is clearly also cuirassed and draped, so it is better identified as a bust.

### *Mysia*

- \*2.** Pergamum, C. Fabius, 57–56 BC (Plate 31 no. 2)  
 Acc. number: 2002.46.546 (Charles Hersch bequest)  
 AR cistophorus, 27 mm, 12.50 g, 12:00  
*Obv.*: Cista mystica with serpent, ivy wreath around.  
*Rev.*: Bow-case with coiled serpents, thyrsus to r. C·FABI·M·F / PRO·COS, monogram to r., ΔΕΜΕΑC.  
 Ref.: Bunbury (1883) 23 (same dies)

### *Lydia*

- \*3.** Tralles, T. Ampius Balbus, 56–55 BC (Plate 31 no. 3)  
 Acc. number: 2002.46.547 (Charles Hersch bequest)  
 AR cistophorus, 26 mm, 12.37 g, 12:00  
*Obv.*: Cista mystica with serpent, ivy wreath around.  
*Rev.*: Coiled serpents around tripod topped by eagle, humped bull r. to l. T·AM·PI·T·F·PRO·COS / ΤΡΑΛ / ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΣ / ΙΕΡΕΥΣ / ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟ[Σ].  
 Ref.: Münsterberg (1912: 88)

### *Cilicia*

- \*4.** Corycus, Salonina (Plate 31 no. 4)  
 Acc. number: 2002.21.6 (anonymous donation)  
 AE, 20 mm, 6.47 g, 5:00  
*Obv.*: Draped bust r. wearing stephane; ΚΟΛΝΗ ΣΑΛΩΝΙΝ...  
*Rev.*: Aphrodite standing with aphlastron in r. hand and staff in l.; ΚΟ[ΡΥ] - ΚΙΩΤ - ΩΝ.  
 Ref.: This coin was previously sold in Alex G. Malloy Sale Catalog 10 (1977) as lot 345. Otherwise unknown.  
 Coinage of Salonina from Corycus is not especially common. A larger bronze unit—ranging roughly from 25 to 27 mm and 10 to 13.5 g—with reverse type of a nude Hermes standing l. holding chlamys, caduceus, and purse above a ram is known (e.g., *BMC* 26, *SNG Levante* 822, *SNG Paris* 1129). Coins of Salonina's imper-



ial husband Gallienus, with the same basic type as the new ANS piece, are well represented in major collections. These are larger still than the coins of Salonina, ranging from 25 to 29 mm and 11 to 15 g. No other examples pairing Salonina with Aphrodite are known to the author.

While the size and weight of the current piece are also unusual, they are roughly matched by *SNG Levante* 814, an AE20 of Tranquillina, wife of Gordian III, weighing 7.11 grams. The reverse of this coin shows Aphrodite gazing into a mirror while arranging her hair, with a dolphin at her feet. Both of these coins indicate that there was a continuing role for small bronze coinage in the denominational system of Corycus during the mid-third century. The spelling of Salonina's praenomen is also noteworthy. Her full name was Cornelia Salonina Augusta. Here Cornelia is abbreviated to KOAN. On coins of type BMC 26, KONNHA is used. The major Cilician mints of Anazarbus and Tarsus do not seem to have had this problem. In general, however, the blundering of imperial names is not uncommon on provincial issues.

#### *Coele Syria*

##### **\*5.** Leucas, Trajan (Plate 31 no. 5)

Acc. number: 2002.21.3

AE, 18 mm, 3.66 g, 12:00

*Obv.*: Laureate bust r.; AY KAI NEP TPAIANOC ΓEP ΔAK.

*Rev.*: Bust of Tyche turreted r.; ΛΕΥΚΑΔΙΩΝ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΕΩΝ.

*Ref.*: Weber 8003, *Lindgren III* 1292 (this coin)

ANS 1944.100.66149 (*ex* Weber 8003) is a better-preserved example of this type, which appeared in *Lindgren III* as "NISC". Neither the obverse nor reverse dies are shared between these two examples. This type cannot have been issued before AD 102, when the Senate voted to add *Dacicus* to Trajan's name following his victories in the Dacian wars.

#### *Syria, Commagene*

##### **\*6.** Zeugma, Antoninus Pius (Plate 31 no. 6)

Acc. number: 2002.21.2

AE, 20 mm, 8.32 g, 12:00

*Obv.*: Head laureate r.; six-pointed star countermark (Howgego 453).

*Rev.*: Temple at summit of hill with two-storied structure at base;  
– ΓΜΑ – ΤΕΩΝ.

Ref: *BMC* 9–11

**\*7.** Zeugma, Philip I (Plate 31 no. 7)

Acc. number: 2002.21.4

AE, 30 mm, 14.61 g, 12:00

*Obv.*: Laureate and draped bust r.; ΑΥΤΟΚ Κ Μ ΙΟΥΛΙ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ  
CEB.

*Rev.*: Temple at summit of hill with two-storied structure at base.  
Seated figure visible between central columns. Capricorn r. in exergue. ΖΕΥΓΜ – ΑΤΕΩΝ.

Ref.: *SNG Copenhagen* 32.

*Syria, Seleucia et Pieria*

**\*8.** Emisa, Elagabalus (Plate 31 no. 8)

Acc. number: 2002.21.1

AE, 17 mm, 3.44 g, 12:00

*Obv.*: Radiate bust r.

*Rev.*: Radiate bust of Helios r.

Ref.: *Lindgren III* 1181.

*Phoenicia*

**\*9.** Caesarea ad Libanum, Alexander Severus as Caesar, year 533 = 221/22 (Plate 31 no. 9)

Acc. number: 2002.21.8

AE, 24 mm, 12.16 g, 12:00

*Obv.*: Bare headed, draped bust r. ...CAP?

*Rev.*: Tetrastyle temple with arcuated lintel and separate stair descending from left and right of facade; in central intercolumniation, Astarte? standing holding standard in r. hand and being crowned by standing figure, perhaps Alexander the Great, at right; river god below. COL... / ΓΛΦ in exergue.

Ref: cf. Rouvier 738 for type.

Among the interesting aspects of this coin is its date. The exergual legend ΓΛΦ is year 533 of the Seleucid era, which translates

to roughly October of 221 through September of 222. Severus Alexander, who was born at Caesarea c. 208, became Augustus in March of 222 following the murder of Elagabalus. Accordingly, the current piece may well have been struck between October of 221 and March of 222.

While no exact matches appear in the published major collections, Dr. Kevin Butcher (personal communication) reports the finding in the Beirut Soukh excavations of a coin whose date may be ΓΛΦ but which was unfortunately struck off-center.

Coins with a reverse-type of a temple with figure being crowned in its central inter-columniation exhibit substantial variation. Using only year of issue as a preliminary organizing structure, the coins break down as follows<sup>1</sup>:

TABLE 1. Seleucid years 531 to 533 at Caesarea ad Libanum

Year	Elagabalus	Severus Alexander as Caesar
ΑΛΦ	e.g., <i>BMC</i> 8	e.g., <i>BMC</i> 9
ΒΛΦ	e.g., Lindgren III 1399	e.g., Rouvier 738
ΓΛΦ		ANS 2002.21.8

It is very important to note, however, that not all coins with this architectural reverse are dated so that the above table does not mean that no coins were issued for Elagabalus in Seleucid year ΓΛΦ.

While the poor condition of the many of the coins in this series also makes certainty impossible, it seems that relatively few coins were issued at Caesarea in 221/222 during the last months of Elagabalus' reign. This may also be the case elsewhere in Phoenicia as only a small group of Phoenician cities issued coins explicitly dated to this period (see table).

<sup>1</sup> Illegible coins of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander can be distinguished by whether or not the head is laureate.

TABLE 2. Phoenician cities striking for Elagabalus or Severus Alexander in 221/222

City	Elagabalus	Severus Alexander as Caesar
Tripolis	<i>BMC</i> 124 / <i>AUB</i> 54	
Caesarea ad Libanum		ANS 2002.21.8
Botrys		<i>BMC</i> 2 (Actian year <b>BNC</b> )

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SEBASTIAN HEATH

### ISLAMIC, SOUTH ASIAN, AND EAST ASIAN

The major accession in the Islamic, South Asian, and East Asian departments was the donation of 133 "temple tokens" of India by the man who literally wrote the book on the subject, Irwin F. Brotman, author of *A Guide to the Temple Tokens of India* (Los Angeles: Shamrock Press, 1970), the only catalogue of the series. These objects are somewhat mysterious, being privately made coin-like objects that were, it is supposed, sold to pilgrims at temples and mosques in India. No official documents describe their origins, nor did any literate traveler take notice of them. They are not really tokens, but more properly amulets or religious medals, because there is no evidence that they circulated with a monetary value, although they may have been used instead of money offerings to the gods. The people who bought them perhaps were led to think of them as magical tokens, religious amulets, ancient coins of the time of the Mahabharata or the Prophet, or merely as souvenirs of a visit to the holy site. They are industrial machine-made objects, and therefore to be dated to the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They depict a fascinating range of popular religious imagery, Muslim, Hindu, and Sikh.

Among the Muslim tokens the most interesting and attractive example in the gift, as well as one of the most unusual, depicts the fabulous steed al-Buraq, "Lightning," that carried the Prophet Muhammad from Medina to Jerusalem (Qur'an xxii.1), where he and the creature left footprints in the stone formation under the Dome of the Rock (no. 1). In fact, the Qur'an refers only to a night journey. All the rest—the horse and its half-human form, the footprints, the accompaniment of the Angel Gabriel—was developed by popular tradition. Other typical Muslim amulets depict holy cities or monuments (no. 6) or copy Islamic coin types, especially those of the Mughal emperor Akbar (1556–1605; no. 5 and reverse of no. 6).

Among the Hindu amulets is a large group depicting Krishna, an avatar of Vishnu in corporeal human form, in his courtship of Radhu, his consort, through music and dance. Durga (Kali) defeating the great demon Mahishasura is a frequent theme of the reverse of this series (no. 4). The popular monkey-god Hanuman, powerful but humble servant of Rama, is another very common subject for these amulets (no. 2). The Hindu deities are depicted in their most familiar forms and episodes beloved by the common folk. There are also a few Sikh amulets, nearly all of which show Guru Nanak (1469–1539), the founder of the religion, and Guru Govind (or Gobind) Singh (1666–1708), the tenth and last Guru who gave the Sikh scriptures their final form (no. 3).

The bulk of Mr. Brotman's gift comprises the actual pieces depicted in his book, but there are quite a few new varieties acquired by him after the book was published. His gift included a box full of notes, photographs, and manuscripts prepared for a second edition of the catalogue, which await a scholar with specialized knowledge of the series.

There were several other gifts of interest. Proceeding in rough chronological order, Robert Schaaf donated a Sasanian drachm that was heretofore lacking in our large collection, a silver coin of Peroz I, who ruled from 459 to 484, showing his first crown type, issued for only two years (no. 7). In the same series, but from the era of Arab rule in Iran, comes a drachm of the governor Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan, issued at the ancient city Darabjird in Fars, or Persis, in 663–64 (no. 8). This was one of two coins donated by Alan S. DeShazo in memory of the late William B. Warden, Jr., the great expert collector of Arab-Sasanian and all Sasanian-type coins, formerly the chair of the Society's Committee on Islamic Coins.

Jonathan P. Rosen donated a hoard of 504 dirhams of the thirteenth-century Seljuks of Rome, *Rūm* being the Arabic word for Anatolia, the land of the Roman Empire as they knew it. This hoard also awaits an expert specialist to work on it. Kenneth MacKenzie donated two little silver dirhams of the Golden Horde, and Garo Kurkman, an ANS friend of long standing from Istanbul and Montreal, gave eight early Ottoman aqches. We received contemporary Islamic and Asian coins and paper money from Sebastian Heath and Emmet McDonald.

One final gift worthy of note: Mrs. Mamie Gettys Atkinson of Flowery Branch, Georgia, sent us two Ming notes in a frame, at consider-

able trouble and expense on her part. In 1999, Mrs. Atkinson donated her husband Harry W. Atkinson's collection of Chinese and other coins, including at least one great rarity. This is the last remnant of the collection. These notes are actually not rare, but with the frame, they make a great addition to the decor of the Coin Room upstairs, where they hang on the wall next to the door.

The East Asian department suffered a great loss this year by the unexpected death of our hard-working and extremely knowledgeable volunteer David Jen, who died of stomach cancer on 7 September 2002. An obituary has appeared in the *ANS Magazine*.

- \*1.** Indo-Muslim amulet of uncertain date and origin (Plate 32 no. 1)  
Acc. number: 2002.2.1 (gift of Irwin Brotman)

AR, 38 mm, 23.34 g, 12:00

*Obv.:* Image of al-Burāq as human-headed winged horse, crowned, bearing parasol, with flowering plant below; on body, *Muḥammad rasūl Allāh*, "Muhammad is the Messenger of God"; to right, *Abū Bakr 'Umar*; to left, *'Uthmān [ʿAlī]*; in exergue, *Khūdā-i (?) Burāq*.

*Rev.:* In square, *lā ilah illā Allāh Muḥammad rasūl Allāh*, "There is no god but God; Muhammad is the Messenger of God". Around, uncertain inscription in Urdu.

*Ref.:* Not previously published.

The tale of the Prophet's night journey to Jerusalem, or to Heaven (the two journeys mentioned in the Qur'ān become assimilated in popular tradition) is one of the favorite stories of Muslims, often illustrated (see "al-Burāq", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edition). The parasol probably stands for the Prophet himself, who cannot be represented as an image. The reverse of the token is derived from a coin series of the Mughal emperor Akbar, at least as regards the design and the central inscription. It would be odd if 'Alī were omitted from the usual list of four early caliphs, and indeed traces of his name seem to be visible after 'Uthmān's name, the rest being effaced by the blank spot behind the horse's tail.

- \*2.** Hindu amulet, uncertain date and origin (Plate 32 no. 2)

Acc. number: 2002.2.2 (gift of Irwin Brotman)

Brass, 29 mm, 8.712 g, 2:30

*Obv.*: Hanuman bearing mace in left hand, triangular representation of Mount Sanjeevi in right; star to right.

*Rev.*: Rama and Sita enthroned, with Hanuman below; attendants right and left.

*Ref.*: Unpublished, but parallels Brotman H12

Hanuman was the servant of Rama, but very powerful and capable of independent action: in his youth, he stole the sun. He is considered to be the model servant of divinity.

**\*3.** Sikh amulet of uncertain origin (Plate 32 no. 3)

Acc. number: 2002.2.3 (gift of Irwin Brotman)

Brass, 28 mm, 9.748 g, 12:00

*Obv.*: Guru Nanak seated below a tree, with attendant left playing *vina* and attendant right holding fly-whisk; before the Guru are two flowering plants and his shoes.

*Rev.*: Guru Govind Singh seated, with halo; bird to left; lattice-work barrier behind. Below, 400; inscription *Sata Katara*, "God is Truth".

*Ref.*: Brotman G3 (this amulet)

Guru Nanak, 1469–1539, was the founder of the Sikh religion, a monotheistic faith open to all, rejecting caste, and spread through peaceful conversion only. Guru Govind Singh, the last Guru, died in 1708. These two are often the only names on Sikh coins, issued in the northwestern provinces in the nineteenth century.

**\*4.** Hindu amulet of uncertain origin (Plate 32 no. 4)

Acc. number: 2002.2.4 (gift of Irwin Brotman)

Brass, 29 mm, 8.712 g, 12:00

*Obv.*: Krishna l., playing flute, and Radhu, both standing on lotus, under kadamba tree; to left, in Bengali script, *Radha*; to right in Devnagari script, *Krishna*.

*Rev.*: Durga in form of Kali, with head of Siva in top right hand, bowl for his blood in lower right hand, sabre in top left hand, trampling demon Mahishasura; to left, Bengali *Kali*; to right, Devnagari *Mati*.

*Ref.*: Brotman K5 (this amulet)

Krishna's courtship of Radhu during his early life as a cowherd is one of the central stories about him. Siva and Kali form another divine couple, pairing creation and destruction.



**\*5. Muslim amulet of uncertain origin (Plate 32 no. 5)**

Acc. number: 2002.2.5 (gift of Irwin Brotman)

AR, 23 × 22 mm including frame, 12.101 g, 12:00

*Obv.: lā ilah illā Allāh Muḥammad rasūl Allāh; in four corners, Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, and 'Alī.*

*Rev.: khallada Allāh ta'ālā mulkuhu*

*Muḥammad Akbar 988 Pādishāh*

*Jalāl al-Dīn Ghāzī*

(4th line illegible)

Ref.: Probably unpublished variety.

It is impossible to say if this imitation of Akbar's coinage was originally made to circulate as money, or as an amulet. It is sufficiently well-made to blend in with a mass of Mughal rupees. A very similar prototype would be R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, vol. 1: *Coins of the Mughal Emperors* (Oxford, 1914), no. 396, which names the Lahore mint in place of the illegible last line on this imitation. The date 988 (1580-81) is correct for the type. Whatever its original purpose, the neatly made frame shows that it became an amulet at some time. There is no trace to show if the mount was ever attached to something else to form a piece of jewelry.

**\*6. Muslim amulet of uncertain origin (Plate 32 no. 6)**

Acc. number: 2002.2.6 (gift of Irwin Brotman)

AR, 38 mm, 24.686 g, 12:00

*Obv.: Domed mosque, with crescent moon and star to left and right of dome. In exergue, rawdat hīn Karbalā' ta'ālā, "garden of the site of Karbala the exalted".*

*Rev.: In frame, lā ilah illā Allāh Muḥammad rasūl Allāh. In four segments, Abū Bakr Ṣaddīq, 'Umar Khatīb, 'Uthmān, 'Alī Ḥaydar.*

Ref.: Brotman T15 (this amulet)

A common class of Muslim amulet depicts holy places of Islam, which rather resemble each other and are all distinctly Indian in architectural style. The Prophet's city Medina is the most common in Brotman's catalogue, being distinguished by the six minarets of its mosque as well as the written name. Karbala in Iraq, the most holy site of the Shi'a, is the other commonly named

place. It is identifiable by the two tall narrow minarets at both corners of the façade, which have been turned into palm trees on this example. Karbala is the site of the death of Husayn, the second son of the caliph 'Ali. Husayn is mourned by the Shi'a for his brave stand in the desert against an overwhelming Umayyad force. At observances of his death, many pilgrims lash and cut themselves in atonement for the failure of the party of 'Ali, which was numerous in the nearby city of Kufa, to come to Husayn's aid. But, despite the centrality of Karbala to the Shi'a and its irrelevance to their Sunni opponents, the imams named on the reverse of Karbala amulets are always the four Rightly-Guided caliphs of the Sunnis, of which the first three are regarded by Shi'is as usurpers.

- \*7.** Sasanian empire, Pērōz (459–484); probably issued at Ctesiphon in Iraq (Plate 32 no. 7).

Acc. number: 2002.25.1 (gift of Robert Schaaf)

AR, 29 mm, 3.948 g, 3:00.

*Obv.*: image of Pērōz, r., wearing first crown type. Right downward, *mzdysn bg' kd' pylwc'*, "The Mazda worshipper, the divine king Pērōz".

*Rev.*: Fire altar with two facing attendants. Left downward, Pērōz"; right downward, *BBA*, ideogram for the court mint.

Ref.: Robert Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics* (Braunschweig, 1971), type I/1, pl. 10 no. 167.

Every Sasanian emperor ruled by virtue of his *khwarra*, or divine charisma. Its descent upon him was symbolized by his coronation, when he received his unique crown unlike those of his predecessors. Kings who were defeated and dethroned lost their *khwarra*, and had to be crowned again if they regained power, with a new unique crown. Pērōz only appears on his coins with this crown on a mostly undated group that has to be assigned to his first two years, because his later coins with two different crowns are dated from year 3 onwards. There is no historical record to explain his loss of *khwarra* in his second or third year, and again in year 8 or 9, but a Syriac source states that he was captured twice by the Hephthalites on his eastern frontier, which could explain his use

of three crowns in succession. This is the first example of Pērōz's type I in the ANS collection.

- \*8. Umayyad caliphate, governor Ziyād b. Abī Ṣufyān; Iran, Fārs province, dated 43 but probably to be assigned to 53-54 Hijra, AD 673-74 (Plate 32 no. 8).

Acc. number: 2002.50.1, gift of A. S. DeShazo.

AR 31 mm, 3.896 g, 3:00.

*Obv.*: Portrait bust of Sasanian emperor Khusraw II, with 'pzt' GDH, "may his glory [*khwarra*] increase", downward to left; *zyyt-i 'bwsup'n*, "Ziyād b. Abī Ṣufyān", both in Pahlavi (Middle Persian); in margin in Arabic, *bism Allāh*, "in the name of God".

*Rev.*: Fire altar with two attendants; left downward, *šychr*, "forty-three"; right downward, DA for Darabjird in Fārs province.

*Ref.*: John Walker, *A Catalogue of the Muhammadan Coins in the British Museum: A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins (Umayyad Governors in the East, Arab-Ephthalites, 'Abbāsid Governors in Tabaristan and Bukhārā)* (London, 1941), p. 40 no. 58.

The chronology of the issues of Darabjird from about 41 to 56 of the Hijra era, AD 661-676, is perplexing because of the continuous use of the same date, originally read 41 but today more often read as 43, throughout those fifteen years, in combination with the names of a half-dozen officials. Ziyād was governor of southern and eastern Iraq for at least seven of those fifteen years. Walker simply read the date as a posthumous regnal year of the last Sasanian emperor and began Ziyād's coinage in 52-3 H, but it is evident now that the mint at Darabjird, like other mints in the same province and elsewhere, must have been issuing dirhams in Ziyād's name from 47 H onwards. DeShazo, who donated this example, has put Ziyād's DA issues in chronological order using the evidence of pellets, isolated letters and other small markings, to be set out in a forthcoming article. There is another peculiarity of Ziyād's DA coinage, however: it has only *bism Allāh* as marginal Arabic inscription, unlike his coinage everywhere else which has his personal slogan *bism Allāh rabbī*, "in the name of God my Lord". This anomaly has yet to be explained.

MICHAEL BATES

## MEDIEVAL, MEDALS, MODERN, LATIN AMERICAN, AND UNITED STATES

Gifts to the Medieval, Medals, Modern, Latin American, and United States departments were regrettably insignificant this year in comparison with those of some years past. (There were in fact no medieval accessions at all.) The 2002 contributors and their donations are sincerely and especially appreciated during this past year of difficulties and uncertainties.

The cabinet of medals was enlarged by gifts from Dr. Michael L. Bates, Dr. William L. Bischoff, the Bottacin Museum, Catherine Bullova-Moore, the Chicago Coin Club, George Cuhaj, Daniel M. Friedenberg, Dr. Jay Galst, the Gateway Coin Club, Sebastian Heath, Oliver Hoover, Toivo Jaatinen, Jonathan Kagan, Roger DeWardt Lane, Donald Oresman, and the Rochester Numismatic Association. Thanks are due to medals researcher D. Wayne Johnson for information on several of the specimens described below.

The modern world collections were expanded by donations from Michel Amandry, Dr. Bates, Mr. Heath, Mr. Hoover, Ilya Lyandvert, and Emmet McDonald as well as by several minor additions and a purchase of euros. The Latin American cabinet was enhanced by gifts from the Banco de Mexico, Mr. McDonald, and Emilio M. Ortiz, as well as by the purchase of four Spanish colonial "tumbaga" silver bars. Those who added to the United States cabinet include Dr. Bates, Dawn Bennett, Ms. Bullova-Moore, Mr. Cuhaj, Mr. Heath, Anthony Terranova, and David and Susan Tripp.

### Medals

- \*1. Argentina, Battle of Ituzaingó Centennial (Plate 33 no. 1)  
 Acc. number: 2002.55.1 (gift of Roger deWardt Lane)  
 AE (brass) horizontal plaquette with curved top by Constante Rossi, 1927. 106.91 g; 77.7 x 54.7 mm; 12:00  
*Obv.*: Battlefield scene, sun with rays on horizon; in lower l. field, **F. FORTUNA / PINXIT**; in lower r. field, **COSTANTE ROSSI** between palm branches, in cartouche at bottom, **.ITUZAINGO**.

*Rev.:* In chief, garnished with laurel branches, oval escutcheon bearing arms within palm wreath and, around border, marginal legend **LA REPUBLICA A LOS VENCEDORES EN YTUZAINGO / -20 DE FEBRERO DE 1827 -**; on ornamental plinth, **EL PUEBLO DE LA NACION ARGENTINA / CONMEMORA EL PRIMER CENTENARIO / DE LA BATALLA DE ITUZAINGO / 20 DE FEBRERO DE 1927**; in lower l. corner, cursive *CR*

*Edge:* **BRONZE**

Not much is known for certain about the important battle of Ituzaingó, in which the army of Imperial Brazil was driven back from Uruguay by the combined forces of what were to become the nations of Argentina and Uruguay. On this attractive medal, copied by Rossi from the painting by Fortuna, the appearance of the infantrymen shown toward the lower left has more in common with First World War soldiers than with their counterparts from the 1820s, and the cavalrymen have an unconvincing, Napoleonic look about them as well.

- \*2.** Argentina. Opening of the Plaza Sargento Cabral School, Corrientes (Plate 33 no. 2)

Acc. number: 2002.55.2 (gift of Roger deWardt Lane)

WM medal by Gottuzzo & Costa., 1896. 62.40 g; 50.6 mm; 12:00

*Obv.:* **EDIFICIO ESCOLAR / PLAZA SARGENTO CABRAL / INAUGURACION**; view of school, on edge of curb stone of building, **GOTTUZZO & COSTA**; below, **CORRIENTES = FEBRERO DE 1897**

*Rev.:* Arms of Argentina within wreath; **\* GOBIERNO DE LA PROVINCIA \* / CONSEJO SUPERIOR DE EDUCACION**

Corrientes Province was one of the regions of Argentina which had attempted to secede during the first half of the 19th century. Part of a remarkable series of official school medals minted in Argentina, this example, which was lacking in the cabinet, makes a pleasant addition to the Society's fine collection of such pieces, primarily donated by John Work Garrett and Dr. R.S. Naon.

- \*3.** Finland. Portrait of Erkki Tantt (Plate 34 no. 3)

Acc. number: 2002.51.1 (gift of Toivo Jaatinen)

AE cast medal by Toivo Jaatinen, Tillander, 1979. 295.75 g; 80 mm; 12:00

*Obv.:* Head of Tanttu three-quarter facing, off center to l.; below, in handwritten-style script, **Erkki Tanttu**

*Rev.:* Head facing, off center to l., right-hand side covered by rectangular overlay showing corresponding facial features in outline form; below, five criss-crossing lines, in relief on the r. side and intaglio on the right; to lower r. at bottom, **TJ 79**

*Edge:* **TILLANDER FINLAND**

This attractive piece, by the 2002 winner of the J. Sanford Saltus Award for Signal Achievement in the Art of the Medal, is a welcome addition to the Society's collection of fine Finnish works. It manifests both the artist's technical skill and his mastery of a variety of subject matter and technique, including his innovative intellectual constructs. Both the subject's features and the field background are rendered in a stippled effect, less evident on the reverse. Tanttu is a prominent Finnish illustrator, as cleverly indicated by Jaatinen through his spare, evocative presentation.

**\*4. Italy. Church of Santa Sophia, Padua (Plate 35 no. 4)**

Acc. number: 2002.43.1 (gift of the Bottacin Museum, Padua)

AE medal, by Francesco Lucianetti, 2001. 127.28 g; 64 mm; 12:00

*Obv.:* High-relief three-dimensional view of the front and side of Santa Sophia of Padua, with piercing outlining roof and left end; below, crown over shield bearing a plain cross; on l., **PADOVA S. SOFIA**; on lower r., **2001**.

*Rev.:* High-relief interior view of the church; on l., bust of Santa Sophia radiate, in flames; at bottom, **F. LUCIANETTI**.

On edge: 181/400

This impressive modern piece, issued by the commune of Padua, evokes something of the feel of handsome nineteenth-century European works of the same genre. Its remarkably high relief and cut-away section give it character as a modern art medal.

**\*5. United States. The Free Academy of the City of New York Scholarship Medal (Plate 35 no. 5)**

Acc. number: 2002.10.20 (gift of Donald Oresman)

AE Ward medal, by C. C. Wright, 1853 (issued 1880). 70.83 g; 51.2 mm 12:00

Obv.: The original neogothic structure of the Free Academy; **THE FREE ACADEMY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.**; in exergue, **WARD MEDAL / ESTABLISHED / 1853.**; on exergal line at l., **C.C.W. S.**

Rev.: Within laurel wreath, / (engraved) / **THIS / MEDAL / IS / AWARDED TO / Edwin L. Popper,** (engraved) / **THE STUDENT OF MOST / PROFICIENCY OF / Spanish.** (engraved); below bow, **1880** (engraved)

This handsome piece, executed by Charles Cushing Wright (1796–1857), who cut many of the finest American medals of the mid-nineteenth century, is an especially welcome addition to the cabinet as an interesting piece of local history. On 7 May 1847, “A Free Academy for the purpose of extending the benefits of education gratuitously to persons who have been pupils in the common schools of the...city and county of New York” was chartered by the New York legislature. This idea was overwhelmingly approved by New York City voters one month later, in a referendum providing free higher education through local taxation. In 1866, the Free Academy became the City College of New York; it moved to Saint Nicholas Heights, later to become an Upper Broadway neighbor of the ANS as the City University of New York, in 1907. Today, individual departments of the College still present a Ward Medal annually to the foremost student—like 1880’s top Spanish scholar, Edwin Popper—in their subject discipline. The Academy’s founder, Townsend Harris, had declared “let the children of the rich and poor take seats together and know no distinction save that of industry, good conduct, and intellect.” (A few years later in his career, he was to become the first United States Minister to Japan and be thus associated with the US Mint’s Japanese Embassy medal).

- \*6. United States. Columbia County (Pennsylvania) Agricultural, Horticultural and Mechanical Association (Plate 36 no. 6)  
Acc. number: 2002.10.46 (gift of Donald Oresman)  
AE Exhibition Award medal, 1855. 113.77 g; 63.3 mm; 12:00  
*Obv.*: Grain sheaf and plow on ground; **\*COLUMBIA COUNTY AGRICULTURAL, HORTICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL\* / ASSOCIATION. / 1855.**

*Rev.*: AWARD OF MERIT / EXHIBITION / (blank area for engraved inscription).

This event, known familiarly as the Bloomsburg Fair and still enjoyed today, was originally intended primarily to highlight local growers' agricultural products—especially fruits and grains. Admission was 10 cents. By 1857, there were 21 categories of exhibits and the fair soon included entertainments. Fair Week officially begins the third Monday after Labor Day, and now hosts half a million visitors yearly. Although it still emphasizes its agricultural heritage, the fair has expanded to include something for every taste. From typical midway "shows" in the 1940s and 1950s, it shifted to horse and automobile racing, a rodeo, dog shows, children's activities, arts, crafts, music, a carnival with rides, an antique farm museum, and always-plentiful food booths.

- \*7. United States. Great Chicago (Illinois) Fire, relic souvenir (Plate 36 no. 7)

Acc. number: 2002.10.31 (gift of Donald Oresman)

AE medal by William Barber, 1871. 79.20 g; 51.4 mm

*Obv.*: Victory among clouds of smoke, holding sword in r. hand and torch in l., flying l. above burning Victorian buildings; in foreground, burning logs; in exergue, CHICAGO OCT 8-9 1871. / FORT DEARBORN CHICO. / 1812.; on exergal line, W. BARBER.

*Rev.*: Phoenix with wings spread arising from flames in smoke; \* MADE FROM CHICAGO COURT HOUSE BELL. \* / SEMPER RESURGENS.

Ref.: Julian CM-13

This attractive, early example of a relic-souvenir medal, struck after the famous Chicago fire out of melted copper recovered from the courthouse bell, was the work of William Barber (1807-1879), the US Mint's English fifth Chief Engraver (and was made to order by him at the mint on behalf of H. S. Everhard and Co., with 500 pieces struck in July 1872). It represented Chicago's indomitable ability to rise from its ashes, first demonstrated following the destruction of Fort Dearborn, indicated by the logs of the obverse foreground.



- \*8. United States. Southern Exposition, Louisville, Kentucky (Plate 37 no. 8)

Acc. number: 2002.10.12 (gift of Donald Oresman)

AE award medal by Peter L. Krider, 1883. 229.04 g; 73.6 mm; 12:00

*Obv.*: Façade of the exposition pavilion; above, within medallet, eagle with wings spread, holding three arrows on l. talon and olive branch in r., standing on shield; below, within medallet, two men clasping hands and shoulders, he on l. in late eighteenth- and he on r. in late nineteenth-century dress—the medallet superimposed on background plants and leaves, a bearded male bust r., atop column, a palette with four paint brushes, a cogwheel, anvil and mallet; around, **\*THE SOUTHERN EXPOSITION\*/ LOUISVILLE KY.**

*Rev.*: Within wreath of laurel and oak, **AWARDED TO /** (engraved in gothic script) *Rodgers / Locomotive & Machine Works /* (engraved in cursive script) *For / Railway Passenger / Locomotive / 1883*

The Southern Exposition was a World's Fair of its time. Opened in 1883 by President Chester A. Arthur, it ran through 1887. Thomas A. Edison, the famous inventor, personally turned on the switch to light the exposition, with the largest display of electric lighting outside of New York. The electric trolley car was among other new “marvels” premiered here. The exposition's purpose was both to proclaim the rebirth of Southern industry following the Civil War and to highlight such exciting technological innovations.

Rodgers Locomotive and Machine Works was one of the great railroading firms that pioneered the industrial revolution in the North before, during, and after the Civil War. Today, the firm's remaining structures house Paterson, New Jersey's fascinating industrial museum, which includes five structures erected at the height of this firm's activity in the 1870s and 1880s. Paterson, along with the area around the falls of the Passaic River, was one of the earliest heavy manufacturing zones in the country. Peter Krider (1821–1897) was particularly active during the decade of the 1880s, executing several such exposition medals as well as political campaign pieces for Blaine/Logan and Cleveland/Hen-

dricks. This issue, showing the splendid façade of the enormous exposition building, must be among his finest.

- \*9.** United States. Augustus Saint-Gaudens (1848–1907) portrait (Plate 37 no. 9)

Acc. number: 2002.10.22 (gift of Donald Oresman)

AE plaquette with curved top (uniface) by Warner Williams, Medallie Art Company, no date [1928]. 204.76 g; 66.5 x 90 mm

*Obv.*: Half-length portrait of Augustus Saint-Gaudens seated r., wearing suit and tie, l. hand resting on book; to r., between horizontal lines, **AVG- / VSTVS / SAINT/ -GAV- / DENS.**

*Edge*: **MEDALLIC ART CO. NY**

This scarce Saint-Gaudens plaquette is highly reminiscent of better-known works by James Earle Fraser and John Flanagan. Warner Williams (1903–1982), a long-time resident of Culver, Indiana, is perhaps best known today among numismatists for creating the satirical series of medals issued by Robert W. Julian. Medallie Art Company's catalogue card file indicates that the sculptor himself ordered the pieces struck, quantity unknown, and that he lived in Chicago at the time of purchase.

- \*10.** 2002.10.17 United States. Thomas Alva Edison (1847–1931) portrait (Plate 37 no. 10)

Acc. number: 2002.10.17 (gift of Donald Oresman)

AE plaquette (uniface) by John R. Sinnock, Medallie Art Company, no date [1929]. 154.67 g; 58.6 x 77 mm

*Obv.*: Bust of Edison, r.; on r., **EDISON** above Sinnock's copyright symbol with **J** to l., **R** to r. and **S** (doubled) below it

*Edge*: **MEDALLIC ART CO. N.Y.**

The outstanding American medallie portraitist Sinnock (1888–1947) was Chief Engraver of the United States Mint at the time of this production.

- \*11.** United States. American Geophysical Union, John Adam Fleming Award (Plate 38 no. 11)

Acc. number: 2002.10.26 (gift of Donald Oresman)

Gilt bronze plaquette (unissued), Medallie Art Company, no date [1960–]. 248.65 g; 83 x 57 mm

**Obv.:** AMERICAN GEOPHYSICAL UNION upward on l. border; gilt bronze 29.5 mm medal with head of Fleming l., and JOHN ADAM FLEMING / AWARD. mounted atop pink, blue, green and gray polished multicolored irregular marble slab, measuring approximately 77 x 43 mm, affixed to the plaque

**Rev.:** Symbolic linear representation of electro-magnetic wave fields; toward top, blank panel; on panel toward bottom, (in lower-case lettering) *outstanding contribution to / the description and understanding of / electricity and magnetism / of the earth and its atmosphere.*

This medal was established in 1960 in honor of John Adam Fleming (General Secretary of AGU from 1925 to 1947 and Honorary President thereafter) and his important contributions to the establishment of magnetic standards and measurements. It recognizes original research and technical leadership in geomagnetism, atmospheric electricity, aeronomy, space physics, and related sciences. Lloyd V. Berkner was the first recipient. The most recent (2001) was Martin A. Uman, of the University of Florida—described as the world's foremost authority on the physics of lightning.

**\*12.** United States. Dr. Hermann von Helmholtz portrait and commemoration (Plate 38 no. 12)

Acc. number: 2002.14.1 (gift of Dr. Jay Galst)

AR plaque, 2000. 90.59 g; 41 x 59 mm

**Obv.:** Bust of Helmholtz, r.; above, HERMANN VON HELMHOLTZ / 1821–1894; below, laurels in panel.

**Rev.:** Ophthalmoscope; above, 150TH / ANNIVERSARY / OF THE / OPHTHALMOSCOPE / 1850; below, 2000 / COGAN OPHTHALMIC / HISTORY SOCIETY.

**Edge:** .999 F.S.

Hermann Ludwig Ferdinand von Helmholtz, inventor of the ophthalmoscope (1850), has been described as the absolute master of the natural sciences of his day. His first great achievement, in 1847 at the age of 26, was to formulate the principle of the conservation of energy. His *Theory of Sound Sensitivity* (1862) propounded a theory for the combination of tones, analyzed the tim-

bre of musical instruments and ventured toward a theory of harmony, but his greatest achievements were undoubtedly in the field of optics and color theory. The Cogan Society based this commemorative issue upon the 1894 mortuary plaque by Josef Tautenhayn. Dr. Galst donated examples in both silver and bronze.

**\*13. United States. Medalcraft Calender Medal Series (Plate 39 no. 13)**

Acc. number: 2002.33.2 (gift of George Cuhaj)

AE lacquered medal, 2001. 247.20 g; 76 mm; 12:00

*Obv.*: **OPENING DOORS TO NEW FRONTIERS / 2001**; world globe overlapping l. side of computer keyboard and screen, on which a face with raised l. hand, on l. speaks toward r. ear of half-shown face on r., with circuits in background; the field behind divided into segments symbolizing areas of advancement in science: 1) on lower l., under-sea view with stylized submarine, whale, barracuda, starfish and porpoise, 2) to upper l., above line of waves, stylized stars, planets space travel vehicles, 3) on upper r., electronic circuits (each of the segments is coated with lacquer: blue in the first, clear in the second, and red in the third).

*Rev.*: Calendar of the months of the year 2001 arranged in a cross, with each month's weeks laid out in a small circle; in the quarters, **2, 0, 0, and 1.**

*Edge*: **THE MEDALCRAFT MINT, INC. GR. BAY. WI.**

This delightful, innovative product of Green Bay's Medalcraft Mint might be considered today's ideal desktop paperweight! The colored-lacquer use is effective and the designs original. There is a pleasant, child-like quality to the presentation of the very contemporary subject matter.

**\*14. United States. Daniel Meyer Friedenberg portrait (Plate 39 no. 14)**

Acc. number: 2002.32.1 (gift of Daniel M. Friedenberg)

AR medal, by Marika Somogyi, 2001. 100.14 g; 58 mm; 12:00

*Obv.*: Head of Friedenberg, l.; on r., **M** [with dot below each angle] / **M / S**

*Rev.*: **DANIEL MEYER FRIEDENBERG** [in upper and lower case] / **2001**; in center, *Hozeq* (Hebrew for "strength")

This striking medal of American scholar, writer, and ANS benefactor Friedenberg is a good recent representative work by the talented Hungarian-born artist Somogyi, winner of many awards.

### Latin America

**\*15. Spanish Colonial Mexico. Cast silver-alloy bar, c. 1522–1535 (Plate 40 no. 15)**

Acc. number: 2002.34.1 (restricted funds purchase)

23.08 lbs. avoirdupois (10518.5 g); 37.8 x 13.3 x 3.3 cm

Markings: (on bottom) a series of rectangular punch marks, **IUd**, **X** and **L**; **R** and **C**; and a **BV** with a small bar above the **B** and **o** above the **V**. The first three punches represent the assayed fineness (in Spanish, the *ley*) of the bar; this is the Roman/Spanish (called “common caroline”) numeral 1540, indicating the parts per 2400 of silver, roughly .642 (64.2%) fine silver. The meaning of **R** and **C** is unknown. The **BV** mark is believed to be the *ensayo* of Bernardino Vásquez de Tapia, documented as an assayer for the conquistador Hernán Cortés. The bar is also marked by two partial impressions of a circular coin-like die, an imperial taxation seal, showing traces of **CAROLVS IMPERATOR**. No markings are on the top. One assayer’s “bite” has been removed from a corner.

In 1991, the Marex Corporation, a treasure salvage company from Memphis, Tennessee, located the remains of sixteenth-century wreckage off the coast of Grand Bahama Island. Among the materials recovered were over two hundred bars of precious metal evidently manufactured in the New World and in the process of being shipped to Spain. Four of these evocative and informative artifacts have been purchased for preservation, study, and exhibition by the Society. The term *tumbaga* is ordinarily used, in an art-historical sense, in reference to the Native American low-alloy gold encountered by the Spanish. Treasure salvors have applied it to these early silver-alloy bars as well. This example has been published as No. M-94 in Douglas R. Armstrong’s *Tumbaga Silver for Emperor Charles V*, privately printed, 1993; see also Robert

Wilson Hoge, "Acquisition of Spanish Tumbaga Bars", *The American Numismatic Society Magazine*, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 31-32.

Ref.: Armstrong M-94

- \*16.** Spanish Colonial Mexico. Cast silver-alloy bar, c. 1522-1535 (Plate 40 no. 16)

Acc. number: 2002.34.2 (ANS purchase)

11.39 lbs. avoirdupois (5166.5 g); 35.0 x 9.2 x 2.4 cm

Markings: (on top) two angular punches bearing, in relief, **IN** (with a small **o** above the **N**) over **DGBCA** (with a **~** above the **CA**); two incused **S** punches, each combined with a rectangular punch **IUd** (indicating the *ley*, of 1500 parts fine silver per 2400); two circular imperial tax-stamp impressions, showing traces of **CAROLVS IMPERATOR**. The meaning of the marks **S** and **IN** over **DGBCA** (applied by the *ensayador*, or assayer), are not known. There are no markings on the bottom. One chisel bite has been removed. There are several lumps of previously congealed silver partially melted into the bar's top surface.

Ref.: Armstrong M-98

- \*17.** Spanish Colonial Mexico. Cast silver-alloy bar, c. 1522-1535 (Plate 41 no. 17)

Acc. number: 2002.34.3 (ANS purchase)

12.29 lbs. avoirdupois (5574.8 g); 36.5 x 10.1 x 2.5 cm

Markings: (on top) two circular imperial tax-stamp impressions, showing traces of **CAROLVS IMPERATOR**. (on bottom) Within square punches, in relief, **IV**, **III**, and **X** in line with an additional **x** above and **x** below (believed to indicate the *ley*, of 1310 parts fine silver per 2400); on the bottom of the bar, two circular imperial tax-stamp impressions, showing traces of **CAROLVS IMPERATOR**. One chisel bite has been removed. A permineralized segment of woven fabric remains as an accretion on the bar's bottom.

Ref.: Armstrong M-107

- \*18.** Spanish Colonial Mexico. Cast silver-alloy bar, c. 1522-1535 (Plate 41 no. 18)

Acc. number: 2002.34.4 (ANS purchase)

15.70 lbs. avoirdupois (7121.5 g); 37.0 x 13.3 x 2.7 cm

Markings: (on top) incuse letter S between rectangular punches, in relief, of Ydl3 and lUd (the meaning of the first two marks is unknown, the last is the *ley* of 1500 parts per 2400 of fine silver); (on bottom) two angular punches bearing, in relief, IN (with a small o above the N) over DGBCA (with ~ above the CA) as well as two circular tax-stamp impressions, showing traces of CAROLVS IMPERATOR. An assay "bite" has been slivered from one corner.

Ref.: Armstrong M-140

- \*19.** Cuba. AV 20 pesos, 1915. 33.45 g; 54.3 mm; 6:00 (Plate 42 no. 19)  
Acc. number: 2002.54.6 (gift of Emilio M. Ortiz)

Mr. Ortiz made use of a research visit to the ANS cabinet to determine which pieces were still lacking from the collection, and proceeded to donate examples of issues needed to help complete the Society's holdings of Cuban coinage.

Ref.: KM-21

#### United States

- \*20.** Commemorative souvenir "restrike" of the Kellogg & Co. 1855 AV \$50 (Plate 42 no. 20)

Acc. number: 2002.7.1 (gift of Mr. and Mrs. Anthony Terranova)

This 2001 proof issue was produced from melted-down gold bars recovered from the 1857 wreck of the SS *Central America*. The piece has been encapsulated. Surprising as it might seem to some who may eschew such modern concoctions, this piece is probably the most important American section acquisition of the year. Although it was indeed produced by means of the destruction of actual historic artifacts with a view toward creating souvenirs to maximize profiteering, this acquisition is attractive enough in its own right, and can certainly be used to help tell a story, to share numismatics with a new audience.

ROBERT WILSON HOGE

# PLATES



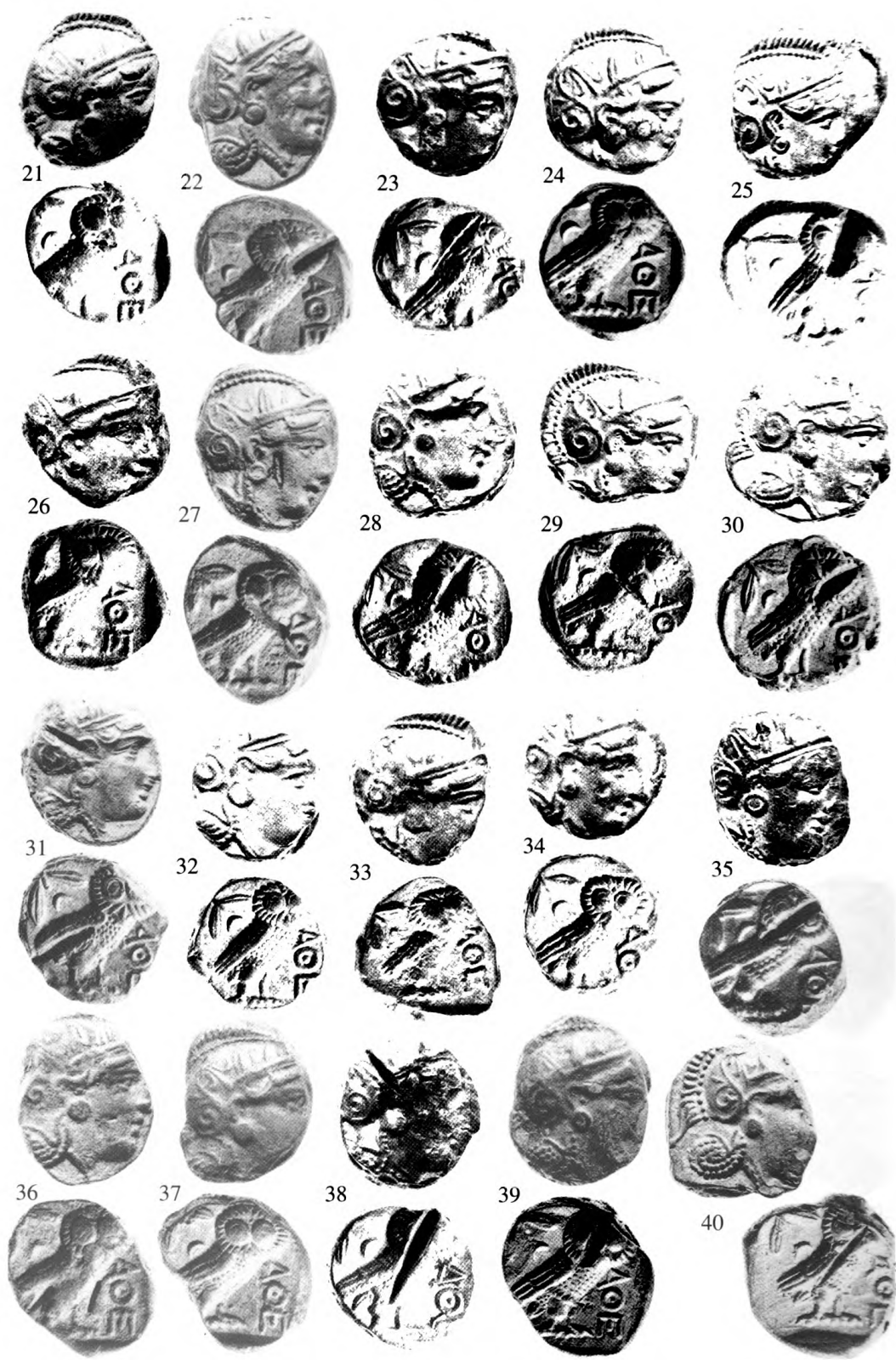


Plate 1



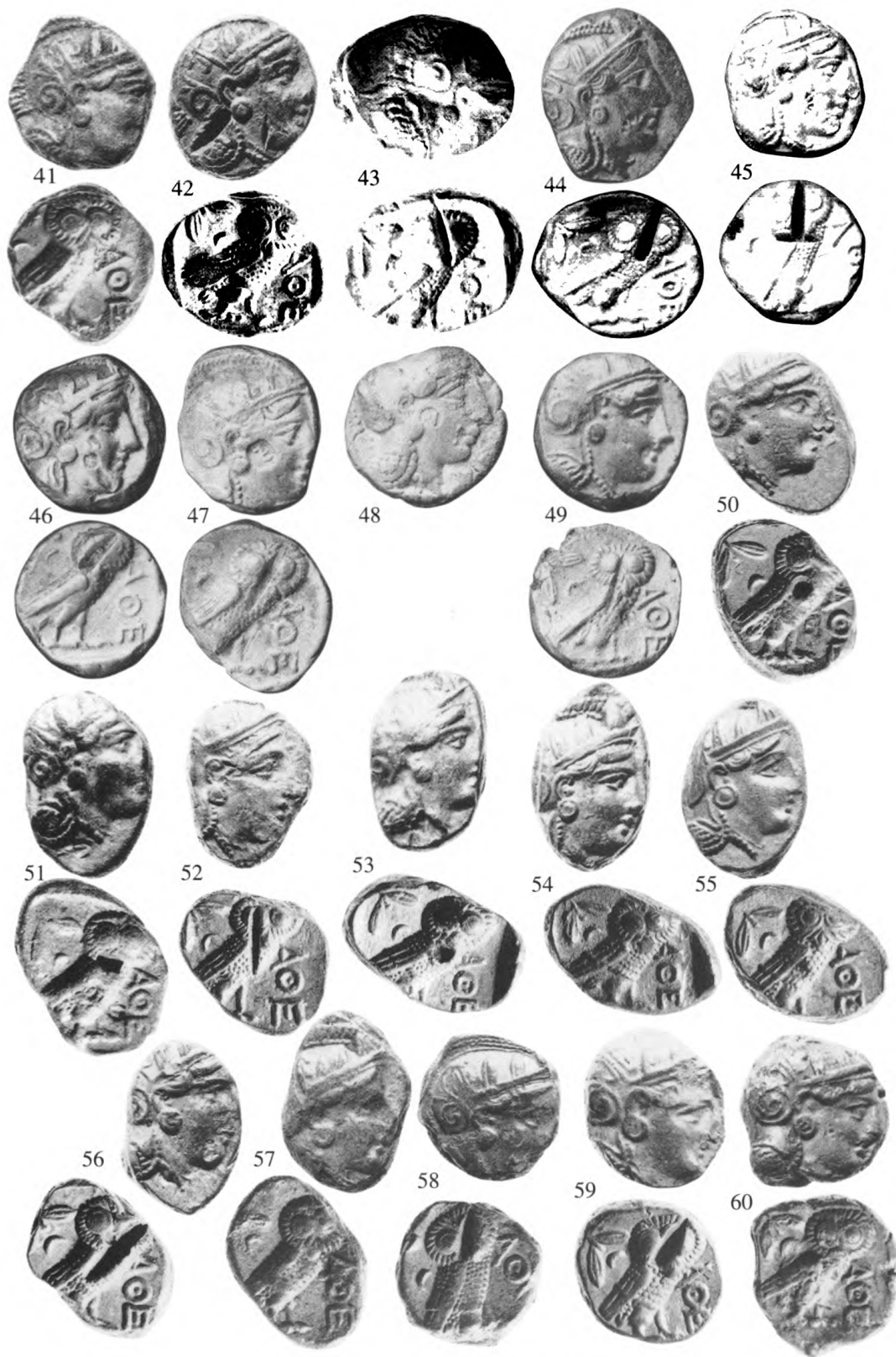
Owls from the 1989 Syria Hoard

Plate 2



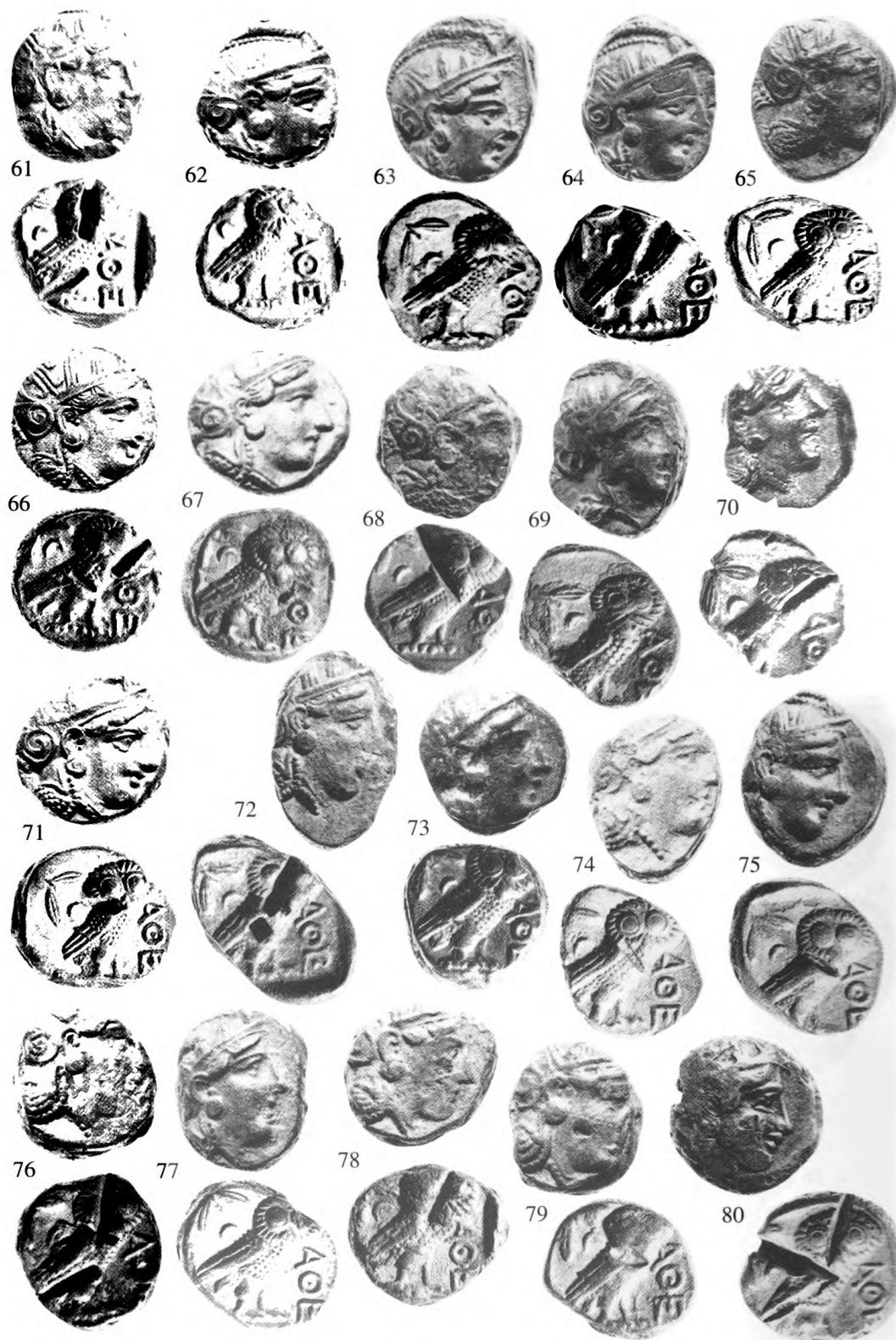
Owls from the 1989 Syria Hoard

Plate 3



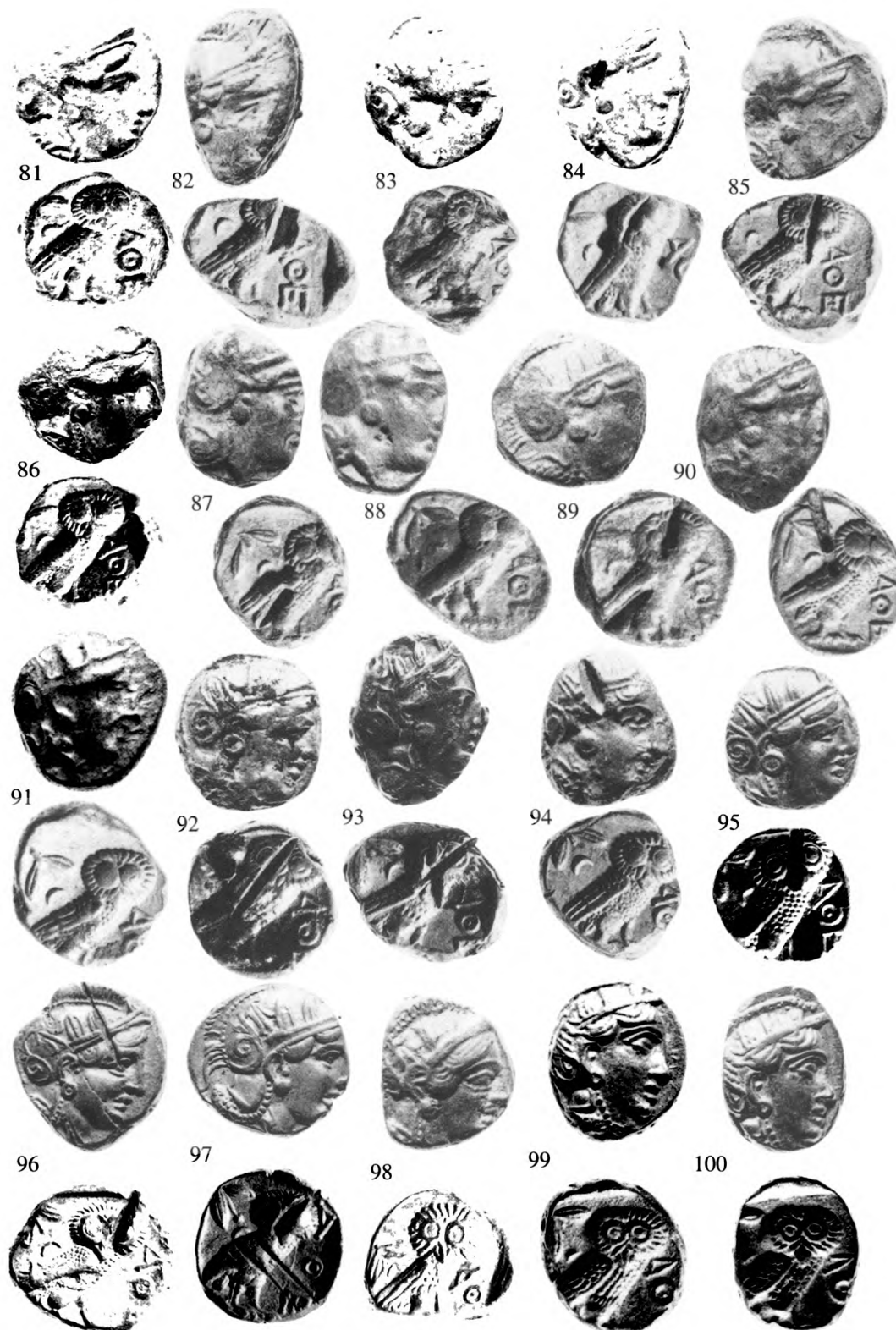
Owls from the 1989 Syria Hoard

Plate 4



Owls from the 1989 Syria Hoard





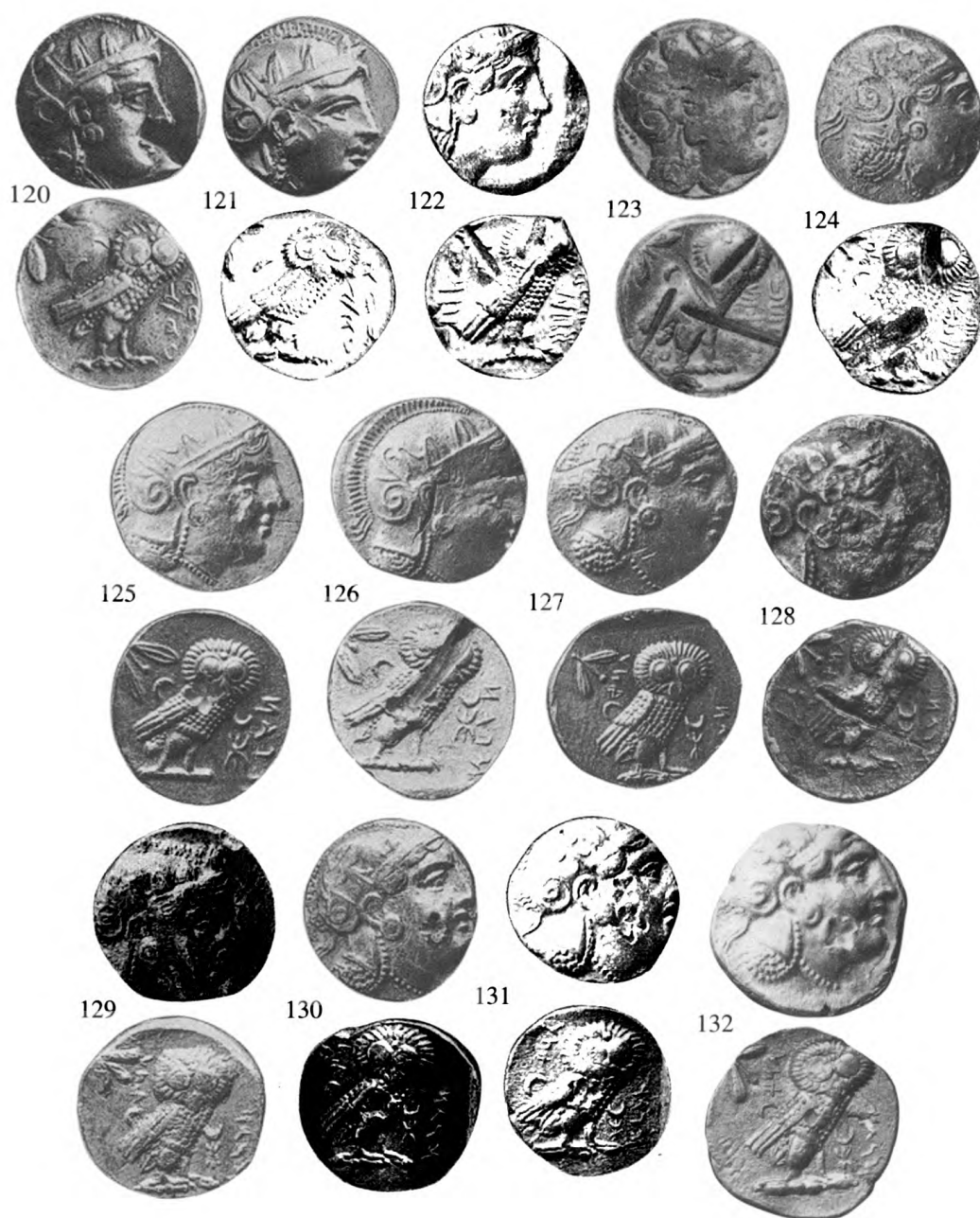
Owls from the 1989 Syria Hoard

Plate 6



Owls from the 1989 Syria Hoard

Plate 7



Owls from the 1989 Syria Hoard



Plate 8

Buttrey/Flament Style B



Owls from the 1989 Syria Hoard

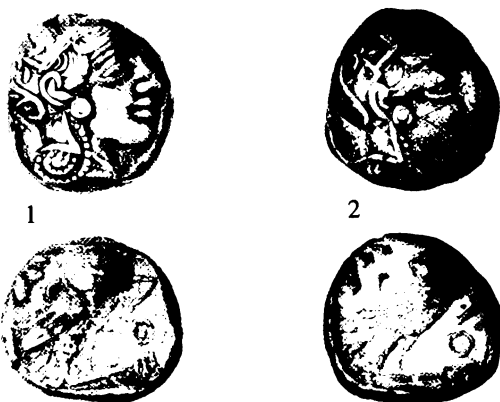
Buttrey/Flament Style M



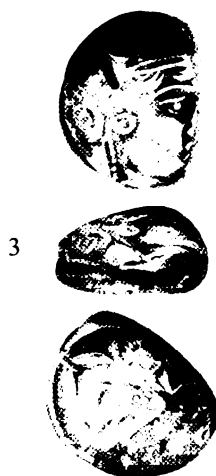
Owls from the 1989 Syria Hoard

**Plate 10**

**Buttrey/Flament Style A**



**Example of Folded Flan**



**Owls from the 1989 Syria Hoard**

Buttrey/Flament Style X



Owls from the 1989 Syria Hoard

Plate 12

Buttrey/Flament Miscellaneous



Owls from the 1989 Syria Hoard

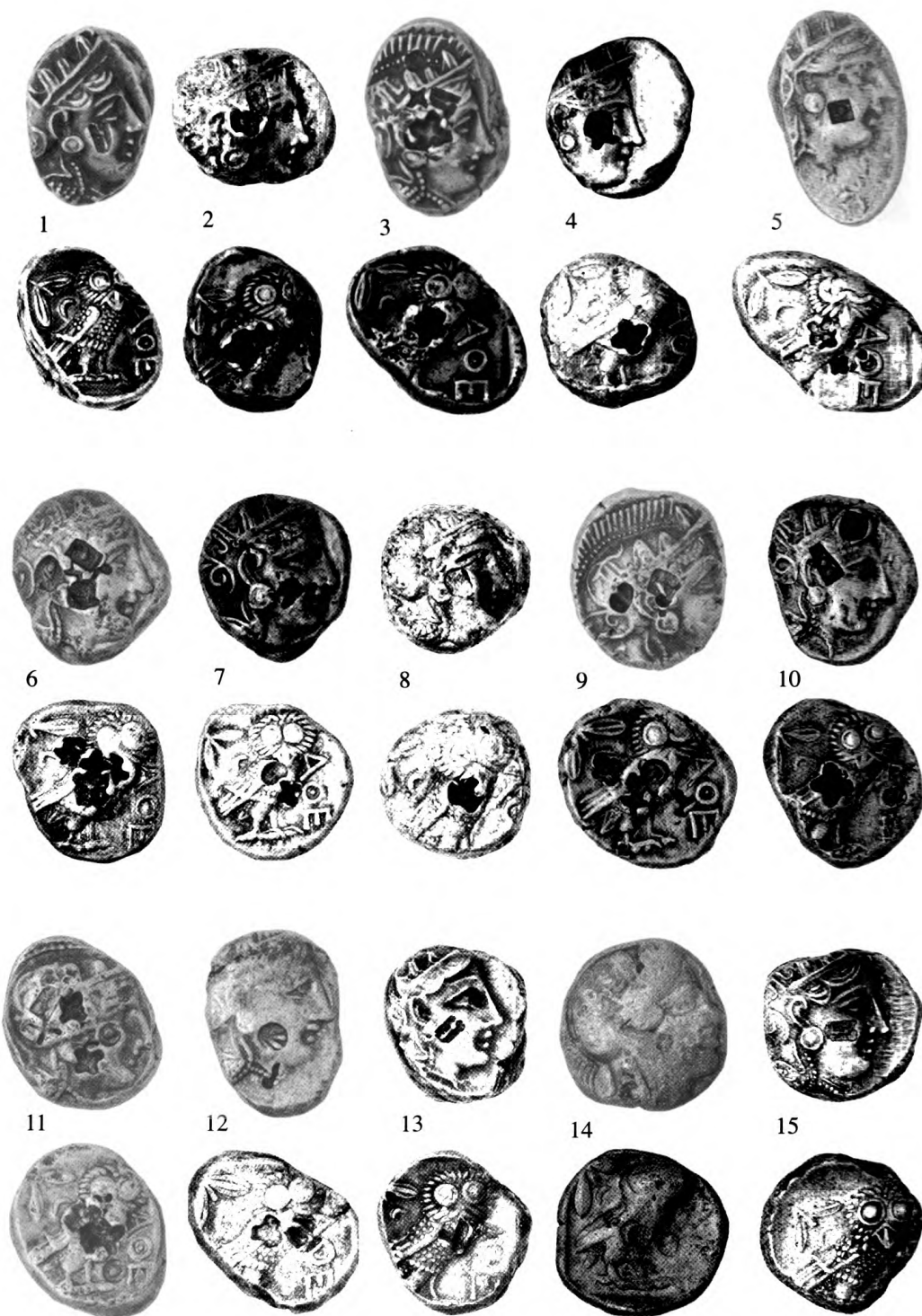
Nahman's Hoard



Two Unpublished Hoards

Plate 14

Endicott's Hoard



Two Unpublished Hoards

Tell el-Maskhouta (IGCH 1649)

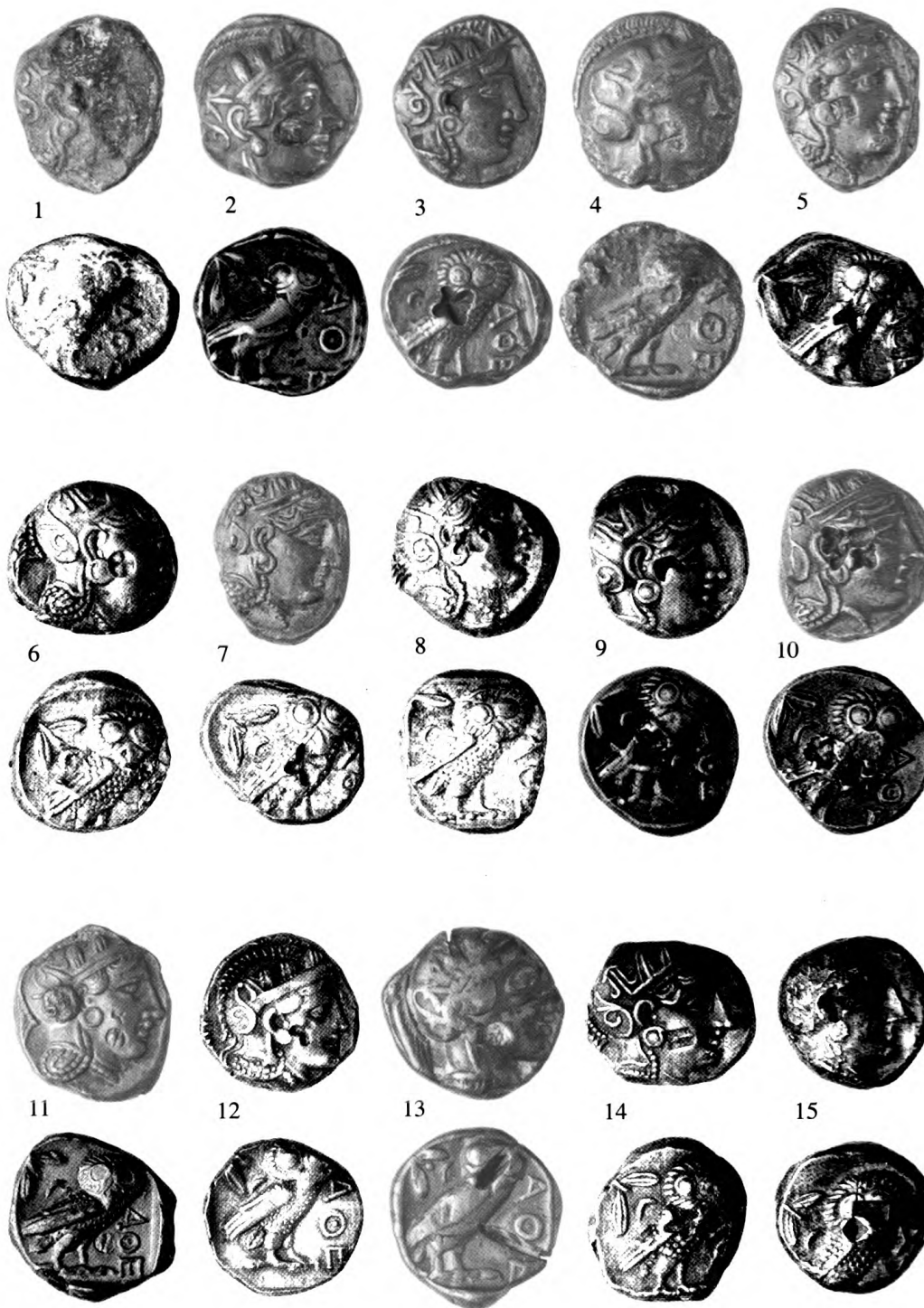


Two Unpublished Hoards



Plate 16

Miscellaneous Owls



Two Unpublished Hoards

Plate 17



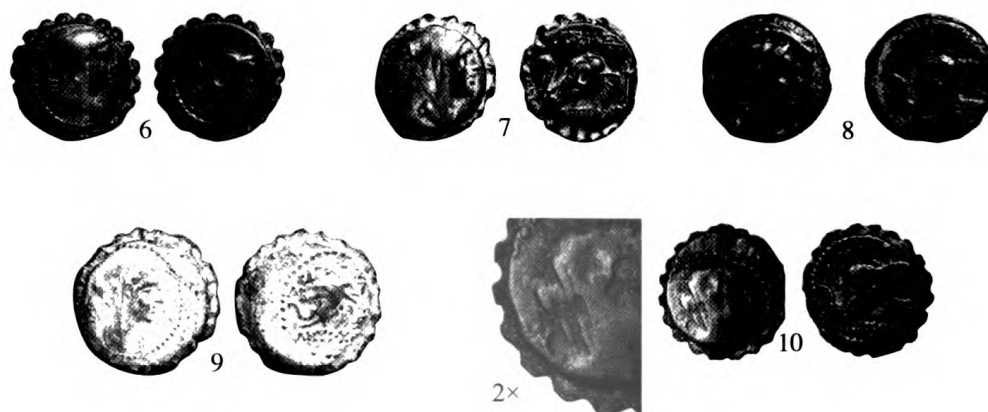
Two Unpublished Hoards

Plate 18

I. Antiochus in Arabia



II. Laodice IV on Bronze Coinage



Two Seleucid Notes



11



12



13



14



15



16



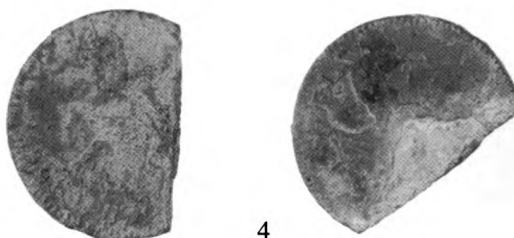
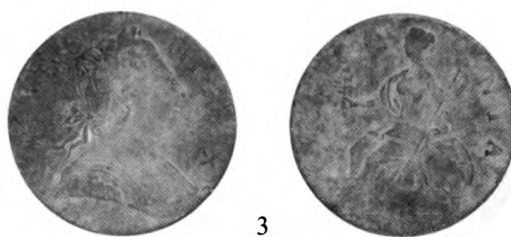
17



18

Two Seleucid Notes

Plate 20



Fort Vengeance Monument Site



1



2



3



Serbian, Montenegrin, and Yugoslav Rarities

Plate 22



4



5



6

Serbian, Montenegrin, and Yugoslav Rarities





7



8



9



Serbian, Montenegrin, and Yugoslav Rarities



Plate 24



Serbian, Montenegrin, and Yugoslav Rarities



12



13



13a



Serbian, Montenegrin, and Yugoslav Rarities

Plate 26



14



14a



15



15a

Serbian, Montenegrin, and Yugoslav Rarities



16



16a



17



Serbian, Montenegrin, and Yugoslav Rarities

Plate 28



18



19

Serbian, Montenegrin, and Yugoslav Rarities

Greek



Acquisitions for 2002

Plate 30

Roman and Byzantine



Acquisitions for 2002



Roman and Byzantine

Plate 31



Roman Provincial

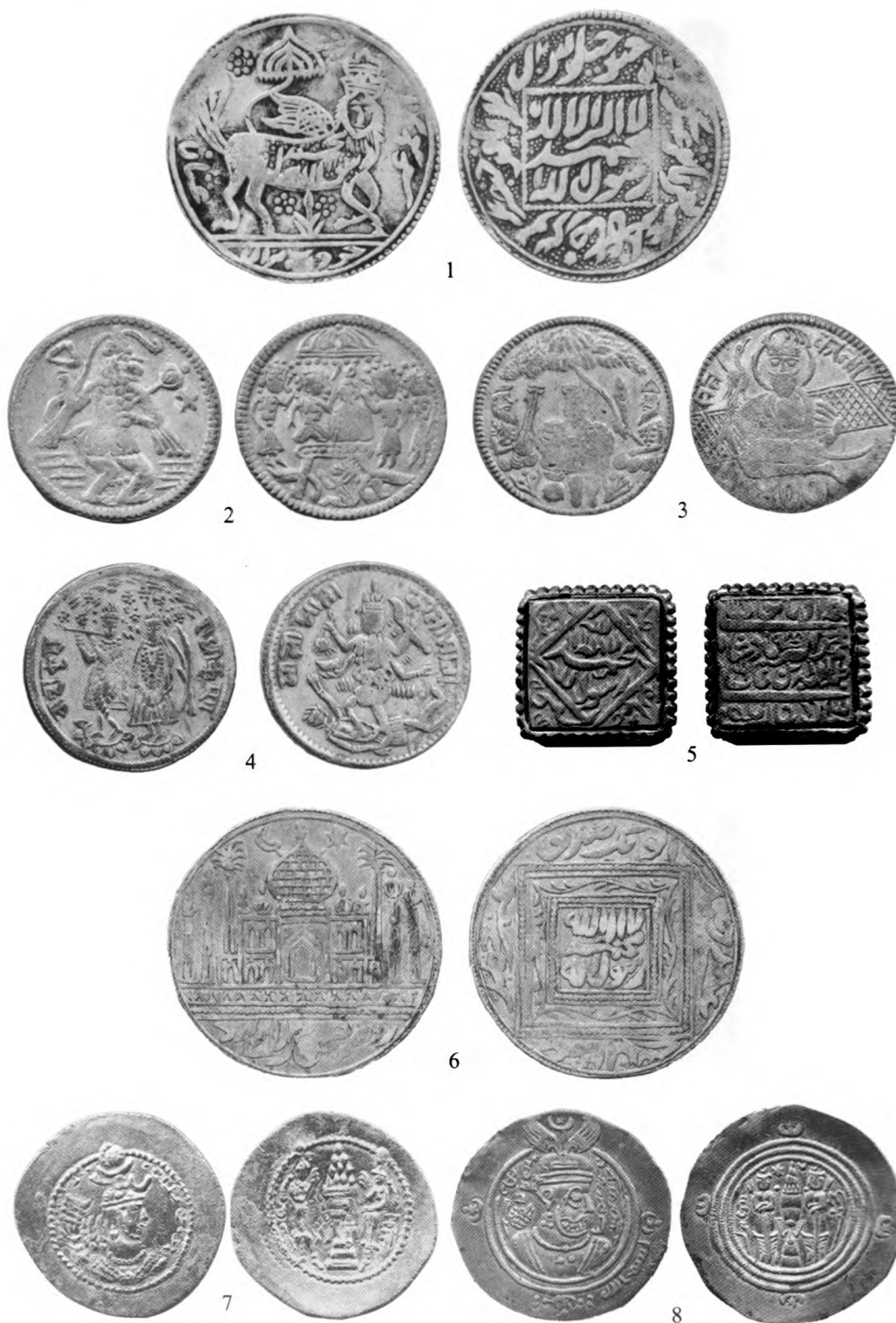


Acquisitions for 2002



Plate 32

Islamic and South Asian



Acquisitions for 2002



1



2

Acquisitions for 2002

Plate 34

Medals



3



Acquisitions for 2002



4



5



Acquisitions for 2002

Plate 36

Medals



6



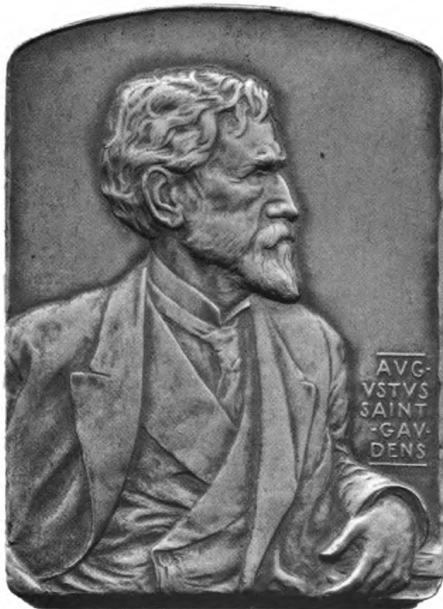
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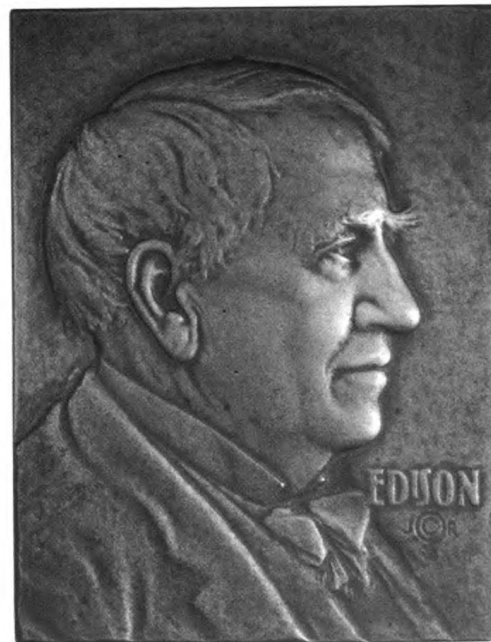
Acquisitions for 2002



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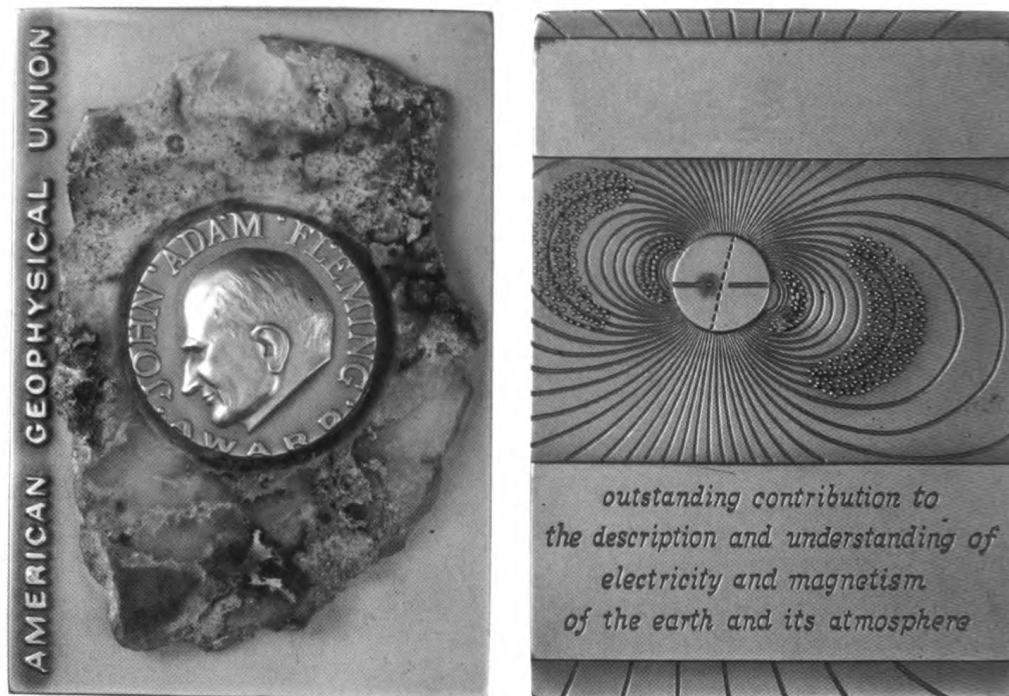
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Acquisitions for 2002





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Acquisitions for 2002



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Acquisitions for 2002

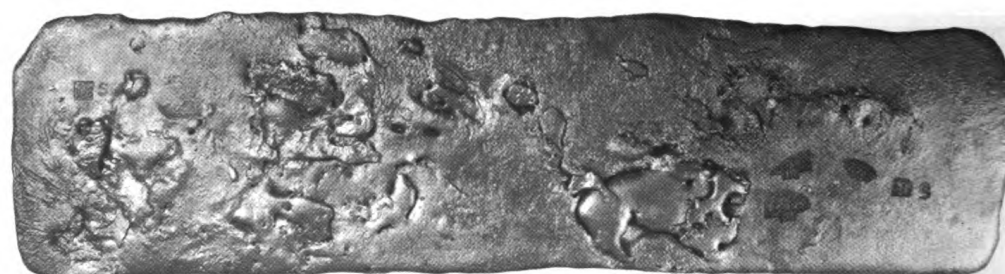


**Plate 40**

**Latin American**



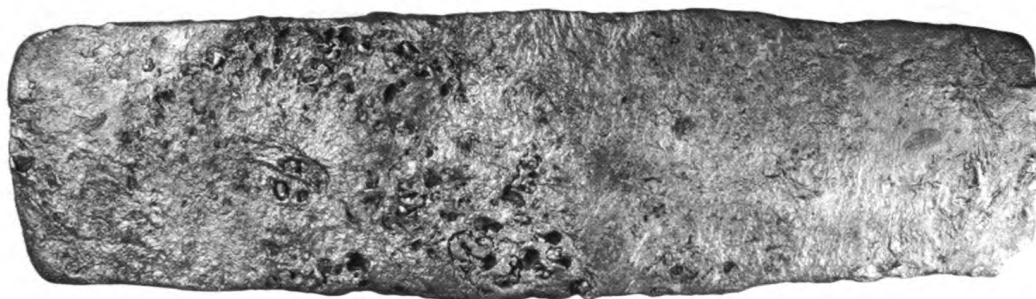
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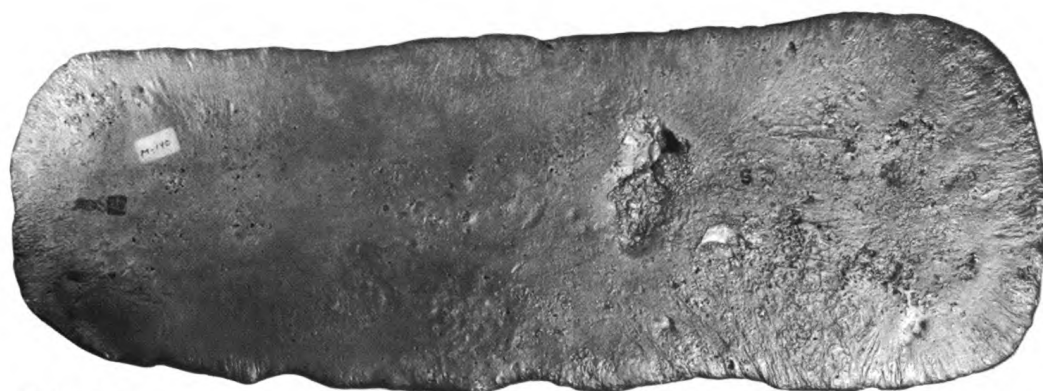
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Acquisitions for 2002



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18 (0.33×)



Acquisitions for 2002

**Plate 42**

**Latin American**



19

**United States**



20

**Acquisitions for 2002**













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